

ARCHÆOLOGIÆ  
ATTICÆ  
LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKES OF THE

ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The description of the Citties glory, government, division of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacrifices, Account of their Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

With an Addition of their Customes in Marriages, Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the foure last Books. By *ZACHARY BOGAN*, Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *Oxon*.

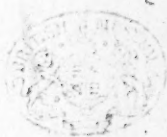
The Sixth Edition Corrected and Enlarged, with a twofold Index, *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

Aristid. Περιεγραφή τῶν ἀντικῶν, ἐπερχομένων, μείζον ἔχοντις ἔργον ὃ, πειλαζομένην ἢ ὄτιν χερσὶν μετὰ, ἑστῶν.

OXFORD,

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for *John Adams*, and *Edm. Forreft*. 1662. 2 4







TO THE  
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL  
S<sup>r</sup> NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,  
*Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant*  
Warden of Merton Colledge  
in OXFORD, *Health,*  
¶

**I**T is the custome of most, to im-  
pose a patronage of their errours  
upon some eminent person. But  
it shall be my ambition in this  
my Dedication to manifest my observancie.  
Others make their choice of potent men,  
thereby to shun the darts of envy: it shall be  
my glory to be thought worthy of inviden-  
cy; whose ignorance is not so great but well  
knowes

## The Epistle

knowes that ever some will bite in secret, & scourge these errors of my youth with private reproaches. But such malignant tongues I will counterpoise with the wynde, and set as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perswaded that the covert of your wings bee sufficiently able to shelter my faults; yet had I rather to expresse my duty towards you in these naked infirmities, whose goodnesse truly knowes how\* to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I present you therefore with *Athens*, whose deplorable raggednesse my papers well resemble: which may challenge this excuse, that they assimilate themselves to the Treatise in them contained. Which of all men, I my selfe am conscious most unfitly to have handled. That City once the \* nurse of reason, \* which florished in eloquence, & brave achievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have without her disgrace been spoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church suckt rare literature, *Basil* his eloquence

\* *Antis literarum ignoscere*  
*Vegetius in*  
*Prolog.*

\* *Cic Epist.*  
\* *Patercul. in*  
*fine Lib. 1.*

## DEDICATORY.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his strength, & others  
 their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which  
 who had not seene is by \* *Lysippus* account-  
 ed a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Re-  
 liques of that famous Univer sity, though by  
 me offered, as Devotion paid to *Antiquity*,  
 by you well esteemed of, though among  
 most of these our dayes accounted dirt;  
 whose labour it is to seek new fashions, and  
 like nought, but what may be accounted no-  
 velty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cice-  
 ro. Ad id solum quod adest, quódq; presens est se  
 accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens prateri-  
 tum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But  
 you weigh well the excellency of talking  
 with those Champions of Learning, hun-  
 dreds of yeares since gathered to their former  
 dust. By whose pensils we see drawne the  
 lively images of deceased Monarchs, the  
 forms of government, & very lives of states.  
 Out of which patternes, if you please to  
 deeme the least part of this to have beene ta-  
 ken, it shall heap to my joy that the follow-  
 ing Tract will not seem a spurious and de-  
 generate

## THE EPISTLE

generate offspring. Upon presumption of  
which I feare not, as the Eagles do their  
young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the  
open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes  
for addition to your happinesse, I take leave,  
From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

*Your VVorships in all humility*

*to be commanded*

F. Rous.



TO





To the READER.



*I* is not a thirst of empty glory that makes me run hazard of your censure, but a consideration of the weaknesse of School-Masters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themselves being not ripe in the Attick Customs. I have therefore so farre endeavoured as you see. If any thing may afford a scruple to any, he shall engage mee that will require

THE EPISTLE

*quire satisfaction. If any thing seem amisse, it shall be taken by mee as a favour to heare of it from any. For I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errours are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres to the finishing of this course intended, & as occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest that may be spoken.*

*Yours*

F. R.





Lib. 1.

Cap. 1. *Ἰαῶνας, Ἰάκωνες, Ἰονία,*  
*Ἀκτικὴ, Ἀκτῖα, Ἀκτὴ. Athenae in acti,*  
*Cecropie, Cranae, Aithis, Attica,*  
*Athene sub Cecrope. Certamen Pal-*  
*laeis & Neptuni, Plutarchi eā de re*  
*sententia, - Alii sub Erechtheo volunt*  
*nominari, Iustinus sub Amphithyone,*  
*Salomon, Selines, Satine, Serhina.*

2 Athenarum situs, Ἀθ, πῶλις, Ἀ-  
θη-πῶλις, Herba lucentes, Murus, Pe-  
lagicus & Cimonicus, Propylea cir-  
cuius veteris urbis, & novæ ἡνῶα &  
ἡνῶα πῶλις. Piræi brachia. Murus  
palæus, Porta, Aer, Laus passim  
apud Scriptores, Cephissus fluvius.

pag. 6.  
3. Ἀλλὰ δὲ Ἀναστάσιος. Mores & ingenia. Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἄλλος. Quantum homines differunt à veteribus, & quantum esse rationem modumque habent.

pag. 14.  
4. De populi divisione. Εὐστα-  
θίου, Γεωμέτρου, Δημωφύλου Περδαστοπορι-  
στῆς. Ἰπποκρίτου. Ζωγύτου. Θήτες. Quid A-  
theniensibus cum Aegyptiis commu-  
ne. p. 18.

5 Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope,  
Mutata earum nomina, Angustia  
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Τεαῖς, Γεῖς. Tribulum Κοιρανία ζυλε-

пкѣ. Дѣла брѣвнахъ.

6 *Græcia vicatim habitata. An quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere Anus. Quot. Templâ & sacra paga- tim.*

7 Τῦραντις Ὀλιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία  
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 Σωφιστ. Μῆας οὐκ.

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Ἰκάνθ, Πολιεύχθ, Βαλαῖθ, Γράταιθ  
εἰλῖθ, Ὀμώγυνθ, κατωδάτης, Βερῖθ, ἰ-  
γοραίθ, Ξίνθ. *Modis salis edendi, Tes-  
tera hospitalis, sem symbolum. Apollo*  
Ἀτδελῆτωθ, Πατῆθ, ἀλεξίκακθ, Θυ-  
ραίθ. *Pagan & ejus verbi origo. Mar-  
cunius* Παλιγγῆλθ, Ἐλῆνθ, Στεροῖθ,  
Περασῶλουθ. pag 39.

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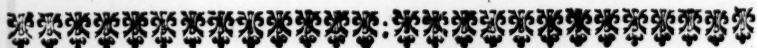
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Archæologia





# ARCHAEOLOGIÆ ATTICÆ

## LIB. I. CAP. I.

*Iavan, Iar, Iacones, Ionia, Αἰλίη. Αἰτία. Ἀθήνη Athena in attia, Cecropie, Cranae, Atthis, Attica, Athena sub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re sententia, alii sub Erichtheo volunt nominari, Iustinus sub Amphictyono. Salenos. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*



**B**Y the sonnes of Noah <sup>a</sup> were the Iles of <sup>a Gen. 10. 5.</sup> the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, when by there audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to posterity, by building Cattles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth; he having so spoken it, whose breath alone affords a faire winde: hoyt then they must their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plaine in the land of *Shenar*, seek out some new habitation. Travelers they were of yore, and yet still must journey. Each one in as different a course, as of a divers language. The sons of *Shem* their way, the sons of *Japhet*, theirs. *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Iavan*, with whom I purpose one furlong

b Joseph, Antiq. l. i. c. 7.  
p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.  
d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9.  
p. 392.

f In Persis  
p. 133.

g Donat. in  
Ter. p. 130.

to keep company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behinde, looking onely to my proposed scope. b *Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰαυαν* *ἡ Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες ὁνομαζόμενοι Ἕλληνες.* From *Iavan* came *Ionia* and *all the Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Iavan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, c *And when I am gone forth, let the Prince of Grecia shall come.* And again, d *He shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Translation renders it not *Iavan*, yet it is so found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was rearm'd *Ionia* and *Ias*, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τὸ καλεῖται Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰάσ τε καλεῖται. For *Attica* was anciently called *Ionia* and *Ias*. In which words we still retain some reliques of the *Radix*, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the sons of *Iavan* were stiled *Iaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above-quoted place, *Ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὅταν εἴη--Εὐδαίης Εὐρωπῆς καὶ Ἰαόνες--τοὺς Ἀθλωντας λέγει.* *Homer* when he says, *There the Bæotians and Iaones* speaks of the *Athenians*. The Scholiast of *Æschylus* on these words,

f *Ἰαῶνας γὰρ ὀνομάζει πέρτερος δὲ λαόν.*

*Ἰεῖοι γὰρ οὗτοι Ἰαόνες οἱ Ἀθλωνταὶ λέγονται ἐκ τινος Ἰαῶνος Βασιλέως αὐτῶν.* It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are rearm'd *Iaones*, from one *Ia n* (he means *Iavan*) that was their King. Neither is it strange that the *van* or *υψιδον* is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* Diphthongs were. For the g antique Latines and the Greeks spake it as broad *a*, as if it had been *Thesarus*, not *Thesaurus*. Sir Walter Raleigh is of opinion, That *Asia the less* had people before *Greece* had any, and that *Iavan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia the less* in his passage, and from thence past over the narrowest way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy and judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me, onely to go so far, as antiquity



will bear me out. *a* *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest, <sup>a</sup> Lib. 1. p. 2.  
 that all *Greece* was not βασιλευς, *firmly inhabited*, but  
 that there were continual *Pilgrimages*, or *Removings* of the  
 'Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out  
 by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there  
 was no safe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each ma-  
 nured his Grounds to have Provent, alone to serve for pre-  
 sent necessity, desiring no more then from hand to mouth ;  
 it being uncertain how soon they might be compelled to get  
 them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change  
 their seats ; not taking grievous that sharp charge, *victores*  
*migrate coloni*, *Be gone you ancient Boors*. But the more fer-  
 til Soil had hard bickrings. *Thessalia*, *Boeotia*, and a great  
 part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and  
 the old Lords expelled. *Τὸν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἀποσταλὲν δια τὸ ὅτι*  
*ἀσπιδοειδὲς ἡ γῆ ἐστὶν ὥστε, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἐὶς.* But *Attica*, by  
 reason of the thinness or barrenness of the ground was always  
 inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to  
 leave his better for a worse) not affording fuel to contention.  
 Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude, that *At-*  
*tica*, even now swarming, and *ἡ γῆ ἱκανὴ ὄντι*, not able to con-  
 tain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies  
 into *Ionis*, a region of *Asia* the less, which is reported by the  
 Greeks to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*,  
 or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Crensa*, who in the words of  
*Euripides* is thought to be *κρησεύς Ἀπολλὸς καὶ Χρῆσος*, the maker or  
 founder of *Asia*. The mother *Ionis* (for so I please to say) kept  
 not still her former name. For in process of time she owned  
*Attica*; from *Attæon*, as *d* *Strabo* says, or from *Attæus*, ac-  
 cording to *Pausanias*, who was the first King thereof, by  
*Ἰστῆρος* on *Lycophron* called *Attæus*. But *d* *Dion Chrysostom*  
 brings a more natural reason then this, why it was *Attica*:  
*Ἀττα* signifies a shore, both in the Greek and *Latine* speech.  
 Now because all of it within a little was washed with the  
 sea, and *ἡ γῆ ἁπλοῦς*, it might challenge unto it self *Attica*. *Dion*



i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo &  
Paul. loc. præd.a Varro apud  
August. l. 18. c. 9  
de civ. r. Dei.o In Them. p.  
67. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

ἑτεῖα καὶ τὴν ὀλίγη πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὄντων καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λαὸν  
 εἶναι ὡς αὐτῶν προέβαν. Hence Ἀκτὴ by the *Enigmatical Poet*  
 in his *i Cassandra* is put for this Countrey. *Tzetzes*. Because it  
 is (*Acta*) a cliff, that is cast forth and lying in the Sea. And  
*Athene* her self by *Plautus* is said, *Athene in acta*, pro *Athe-  
 nis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. But this grew old af-  
 ter a season, and *Cecrops* having married the daughter of  
*Aleus*, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athens Cecropia*, and *Ce-  
 cropis civitas*, and after that *Cranæ*, from *Cranæus* the king  
 that succeeded him) This *Cranæus*, among other of his daugh-  
 ters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis*  
 and *Attica*, next *Possidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and  
*Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, *Queen of Greece*, so called  
 from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when  
*Cecrops* moved with a prodigy of a sudden shooting up of  
 an Olive, and bubbling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*,  
 consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one  
 did signifie *Neptune*, the other *Minerva*, taking therefore  
 the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Mi-  
 nerva*, who had most voices should carry it. The females  
 being more, the Goddesses bore away the bell. So here a wit-  
 ty Divel to bring in *ἑκατόνθεος*, Gods of his own making,  
 to intold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However, let us  
 leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught  
 out of *Mythologie*. *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient  
 Kings, striving to draw away their subjects from seafaring  
 negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and  
 manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Nep-  
 tune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the city. *Εκόντος δὲ &c.*  
*Neptune* is put for the Sea, and busineses thereof. *Minerva*  
 for Arts and ingenuous kinde of life, nay says *Ovid* in his *Ka-  
 lender*, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is Goddesses of 1000 Trades.  
 Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphi-  
 ctyon*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit*. c *Justin*. Others in the  
 time of *Erecltheus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this  
 name

given. Which Author *d Marciannus Heracleota* doth follow, *δὲς αὐτοῦ ἡ-  
δὲς αὐτοῦ ἡ-  
οὐκ ἐστὶν λαβὴν.* This was that *Erectheus*, who in a time of <sup>πελ.</sup>  
drough over all the world except *Egypt*, brought corn to  
*Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian mysteries*. Beholding this  
Citie hath been to *Egypt* for other kings; to wit, *e Cricrops*  
and *Menestheus*, for his father *Petes* was an *Egyptian*. In <sup>e nstoph.  
sch. pag. 79:  
Tzetx in  
Lyceph. p. 23.</sup>  
the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a recei-  
ved opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Egyptians*.  
*Sais* in that tongue answering to *Athene* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes*  
out of *Carax*. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of  
*Sais*, they argue from this. Because that the *Saite* and *Athe-  
nians* have divers customes alike. Witnesse *Diodorus Siculus*.  
But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called *A-  
thens*, when the people began more seriously to addict them-  
selves to civill government, and studie of good literature;  
knowledg and art being ascribed to *Minerva*. In *ἡ δὲ Ἀθῆνα* <sup>f Polit. l. 8. c. 9.</sup>  
*ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἧς τῆς Ἑλλάδος.* saies *f Aristotle*. Nay her  
name being derived from thence, *Νῆθηνα* in the *Chaldy*  
tongue signifying to *study* or *learne*: from which come *thenaa*,  
and with an article *Hathenaa* as *g Heinsius* the most learned.  
As for the conceit of *Geropius Becan*, from *ana* the number of <sup>g In Aristar.  
Sac. Synt. 1. 6.  
1 p. 27.</sup>  
three which notes eternity, and so from *hat-het-ana. Athena*.  
Because wisdom doth contain eternity, let us send it back  
into *Germanie*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which  
was once the *h* *shop* of letters and the *Muses*, whereof it is now <sup>h In Idor.</sup>  
deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former *Athens*,  
nay the name it selfe. For if we believe some they tell us,  
that now it is *Salinos* or *Selines*. To whom I accord not. Be-  
cause that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Nisæa*, which  
is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in discourse  
with a native of *Peloponnesus*, who lived many yeares in that  
City, I had no other appellation from him then *Ateene*, which  
others write *Satina* corrupted as *Portus* and *Moursius* truly  
think for *ἡ δὲ Ἀθῆνα*. Nay a *Hugo Favolius* who was there <sup>a In Hod. xp.  
Byz. l. 3.</sup>  
himself

himself even to the same purpose names it *Sethina*

*Undique sic misera nobis spectantur Athina,  
Dædala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,  
Quas Neptune pater, nunquam tua mania dicas,  
Indigene Sethina vocant.---*

We wretched *Athens* round do view, which now,  
Though once ingenious *Pallas* love, 's her shame,  
And t' have been thine, *Neptune*, wouldst disavow,  
To which the homebred give *Sethina* name.

## CAP. II.

*Athenarum situs. Ἀθ. πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. Herbe lucentes, Mus-  
rus, Pelasgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris  
urbis, & novæ: ἡ ἄνω & κατὰ πόλιν. Piræi brachia. Murus  
Phalericus. Portæ. Aer. Laus passim apud scriptores. Cephis-  
sus Fluvius.*

b In Panath.  
p. 171, 172.

**G**reece, says b *Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole Earth; and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, closeted in the womb of time, received nourishment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do encompass, as c *Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned Fabrick even to this day; which *Cecrops* from himself names \* *Cecropia*; of old ἄνω, *The City*, by a kinde of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witness d *Pausanias*. e *Terent*, *An in aînu venit*? Donat. Sic *Athenienses urbem suam vocabant, unde ipsi incolæ ἄσσοι vocantur*. So, saith he, the *Athenians* called their City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *asstoi*: after that they called it πόλις, f *Pausanas*. Which in his time was called Ἀκρόπολις or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Castle; which

c Lib. 9. p. 396

\* Plin. Nat.  
hist. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Att. p. 13.

e Eunuch, act.

5. sc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24.

l. 43.

which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as *g Aristides*. Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonautick*, named *Divarc-*  
*tumens in summis urbibus arces*: The Goddess that keepe the  
*Turrets of Cities*. This onely now remains the succor and  
shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnish-  
ed with Men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to  
the number of seven hundred thousand, as *Christophoro An-*  
*celo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mista-  
ken the number. As for the Forces thereof a *Hugo Favolius*  
shall thus instruct you,

*g Orat. in Mi-*  
*netiv. To. 1 p.*  
*21.*

*a Hodarp. Byz.*  
*l. 3.*

*Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore montis eodem*  
*Quaeque impôsta iugo est, vastas prospectat in undas*  
*Aequoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes*  
*Externo indigenas nocuo tuatur ab hoste,*  
*Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio*  
*Nota nâois regno, validisque instructior armis,*  
*Lenivomôque magis tormentorum impete tuta.*

A Castle onely famous at this day,  
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.  
The scattered thatcht sheds that stand it about,  
The Fort defends, and keeps Invasion out,  
And Natives safe. A Fort; none noted more  
In Greece, which hath a better Warlike store,  
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret stand the fashions of Halfe  
Moons most rarely gilded, after the manner of the *Ishmae-*  
*lites*, who have the Moon in no small honor, as my much ho-  
nored Mr. *b Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets thus  
*speaks Favolius,*

*b De Diis Sy-*  
*ris, Syn. 2. cap. 2.*  
*p. 288.*

*Cujus inanratis longe rutilantia Lunis*  
*Ardua caeli vagas feriunt fastigia nubes.*

Whose tops with gilded Moons aspiring high,  
Doe knock the Clouds, the pilgrims of the sky.  
Neither may it pass obscurely which I have taken up, being  
let fall from the mouth of an eye-witness; namely, that on the  
side

side of this hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a certain kind of herb, that farre off, in the night season, gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the herb it self. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this, are none now, saies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; some part thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *πελαργοί*, *Pelargi*, Storks, *ὡς τὸ πῶς σκαρῶ*, for there wandring, a *Strabo*. *b* *Plinie* saies their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that first buile houses of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong, in puting a false name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. *c* *Pausanias*, *εὐοὶ δὲ Ἀρχόλαν καὶ Ὑπερβίον*. From these was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*.

*Τίς δ' αὖν καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;*

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the sonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propylaum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *d* *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. *e* For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour war against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit.

By

*a* Lib.9.p.397.

*b* Nat. hist.l.7.

*c* 56.

*e* Tu Atic.p.

26. l.34.

*d* Tul.Off. l.2.

*e* Val: Max.

lib.3.c.1.

By the way it shall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *Plutarch* *δια τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν καὶ δεισιπύειαν* it may be, for his heat in *Εὐλαία*.  
*Vener* and ill favour. Goats likewise saies *Varro*, came not thither, unlesse for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threecore *stadia*. Now a *Stadium* is about some \*six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks, so to measure the length or distance of grounds, or Cities, by the *στάδια*. The first City then is contained in seaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houses able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by *ἡ ἄνω* & *ἡ κατω πόλις*. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, *ἡ κατω καὶ ἡ ἄνω πόλις* *ἡ δὲ ἄνω πόλις* *ἡ δὲ κατω πόλις*. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors that when you meet with *τὸ ἄνω* in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be *τὸ κατω*, the lower. *a Thucydides*.  
*Ἔσθον τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ κατω καὶ ἡ ἄνω πόλις ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ ἡ πόλις ἡ κατω πόλις*. And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest who were not addicted to the sea, yet lived below, understand neare the sea, *Schol.* *κατω πόλις ἡ κατω πόλις*. The *τὸ ἄνω* then, and *τὸ κατω* knit together made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, tooke up, as *Diob* *Orat.* 6.  
*on Chrysostome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morillus* produces a *Scholiast* testifying that the walls were *πενήντα ἑκατὸν στάδια* fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had so soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written *κατω* for *ἄνω*, twenty for fifteen. For so it ought to be. Neither is it strang that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c Pliny*, from *Athens* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum* foure miles

\* Five feet  
make a pace,  
and a thousand  
paces a mile.  
*Isidor Orig. lib.*  
15. c. 16.

*h In Phoc. p.*  
549. l. 47.

*a Lib. 1. p. 6. 2.*

*b Orat. 6.*

*c Nat. hist. lib.*  
2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in the second book consisted of five miles a quarter and halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold; but I suppose some houses to have been without *ἡ πόλις*, as he saies, *ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἡ πόλις ὅλη* καὶ ταῦτα ἔκριναν. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently passe by the opinion of *John Meursius*, who reading in *Pausanias* these words *Ἀθηνῶν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ πόλεως ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως*, should presently obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the *f* wall called *Phalericus* is but twenty *stadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing lesse. For speaking of salt springs, which he calls *θαλάσσιον κύματα*, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the neerenesse of the sea. For when he writs of this brackish well, *Among the Athenians*, the sea which comes up neere *Phalerus* is distant from the City but twenty *stadia* at the most, quoth he. Where *Amasius* hath thus strangely doted. *Athenæ à Phalero absunt stadia hand amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewise considered that *πρός* with a Dative case signifies not only *juxta* and *prope* as I have translated it; but *supra* sometimes, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number, but sees not into the words. Now it is not needles that the two walls, which joyns *Piræum* and *Athens* at so long a distance, be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa visenda*, Many things worthy of sight at *Athens*. These are the *κακὰ τείνη*, in *b Propertius*, --- *These à brachia longa via.* *c Appian* of *Alexandria* *κακὰ τείνη*, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South.

*d* Loco citato.

*e* In Archad.  
p. 244. l. 37.  
*f* Att. Lect. l.  
3. c. 4.

*a* Lib. 31.

*b* Lib. 3. Eleg.

19. p. 192.

*c* In bello

Mith. p. 125.

l. 9.

*d* Pag. 355. l. 10

*e* In Pericle. p.

115. l. 20.



In height about forty Cubits, as *Appian* testifies. These are called *diadema* by *Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athena* being at one end, and *Piræum* at the other these were drawn forth between. And when Writers speak of *Nisæus*, it may be conjectured that it is for distinction of that *Nisæus* in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witness *Pausanias*. *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these. In *Equitibus*.

Τὸν Περικλέα ἀποστήδασεν.

Which his *Scholiast* affirms, *Τὸν Περικλέα ἀποστήδασεν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν*. For *Themistocles* added *Piræum* to the City. We read in *Probus* that he was the onely Agent in wailing the City, & that he so hastned the accomplishing, that they were fain to be as it were sacrilegious and make use of Materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain-says this, and that he did onely *καὶ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν*, & not *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of an huge weight, and Lime he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own Expences so great favors, to a People that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches, but in after-time finished the whole work, so that he may be truly said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. \* *Maurus* hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these *Dipylon* or *Thrasia*, the fairest of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, says *Livie*, *major aliquant. potentiorg. quam c. tere est*, greater somewhat and wider then the rest. Hence I suppose named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. *Μαγνὰ Πύλη*.

In Mah. p. 124. l. ult. Orat. 6.

In Attic. p. 19. l. 8. p. 317.

333. A. in Them. p. 7.

In Them. p. 87. l. 25.

In Them. p. 355. l. 4.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

In Them. p. 355. l. 12. note.

raica. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon*. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theseus*. *g* *Plutarch*. ἱππῶδες *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour rests with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, chose rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the secrets of his country. *a* ἱερὰ *Sacrae*, the sacred gate. We read of this in *b* *Theophrastus's* Characters, but to my great admiration that the Eagle-fighted *Cassander* had not espyed a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at *Athens* as ἱερὰ, yet is there any that ever read *χρὶ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξελθὺν θείνους*, the dead to have been carried out to buriall through the Sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar doe, such as, *When Christmas comes out of Wales*. write then *Ἡεῖα*. *Ἡεῖα* are the gates at which they went forth with their Corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. *c* *Demosthenes*, Ἀγῆος πύλαι. The gates of *Aegus*. It seems to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called *d* Ἐρμῆς ἐπ' Ἀγῆος πύλαις. The statue at the gates of *Aegus*, *Μελιτῖδες*. *Melitides*. Where lyes *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponnesian War*, who after his returne into his country from banishment, was treacherously murdered. his Sepulcher stands neere these gates. *e* *Pausanias*. Κεραμικῶ. *Ceramica*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμικῷ πύλαι. The gates in *Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedaemonians* were buried, which died in the seditious War that *Thrafsybulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. *f* *Xenophon*. Διοχάρους πύλαι. The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speak. *g* *Ἀχαρνῶν πύλαι*. The *Acharnan gates*. I suppose they were called so from that Town or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the town to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina* from

*g* In Theseo.  
p. 9. l. 20.

*a* ἱερὰ πύλαι  
ἱερῶν p. 45.  
ἱερὰ πύλαι  
p. 45.

*c* Pag. 715.  
num. 95.

*d* Plur. Thef.  
p. 4. l. 21.

*e* Atticis p. 21.  
l. 41.

*f* *Ἀχαιῶν*. 2.  
p. 279 l. 43.

from *Cellatia*, a Burge not far off. And happily it is so here, as also in *Διομία*. *Diomaa*, for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. *Θενίω*. *Thracia*. These are all that ever I met with named: others there are obscurely pointed at by *Pausanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pacile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agreus* in brasse. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates; which being opened enter, suck that sweet aire, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgments for contemplation. Whence *Enripides* may well straine to this note, that *Venus* sitting neere, and adorning her selfe, sends forth continually *Cupids* of learning, *παιδὸς ἀγέτης ἑταίρους*. Well may he blesse that clime stiling it, *ἡ αὐτοῦ τὰτος αἰθέρου*, which hath been the Mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmodia*, as if there were no such melodious concert, as in the Sciences. Let not *Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature and disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it, *c* No coast so truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celestiall and defecated aire. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions. *f* Famous, *g* The most renowned, *h* Happy, *i* Sacred *Athens*. *Pindorus*. *k* Wonderfull. *l* Much spoken of *m* Neat, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to beare vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing lest it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many and sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

*Maursus* hath added two. *l* *tenor*. & *scare*. in *Atticis* which I see or saw until I had written this place, as *Gol* & *man* is my necessity. I think I should think that I have done out of him, because we meet *g* *Atticis* p. 14. c. 11. *a* *Calliod*. *Var. l. 12.* *b* *Medea*. p. 460. 461. *c* *Med*. p. 459. *d* In *Prat* ad *ad* *Charact*. *e* *Tom. 1. p.* 173. *f* *Aia*. p. 57. *g* *Oed. Col.* p. 258. *h* *Oed. Col.* p. 264. *i* *Aia*. p. 712. *k* *l* *m*. p. 362.

## CAP. III.

Ἀθηνοί. Ἀθῆνῶν, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὸ μὲν παλαιόν. *Quantum hodierni differant a veteribus; & qualem vita rationem modumque habuit.*

l. c. βίῳ Ἐλ-  
λάδι.  
p. 169.

m Varro apud  
Aug. de Civ.  
Dei. l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Plutop.  
38.

c Var. hist. lib.  
3. c. 7.

**T**He *Athnians* by *Dicaearchus* are divided into two sorts, Ἀθηνοί, *Atticos*, and Ἀθῶναι. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Infomuch as one of the punishments, which the *Athnians* are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Nephtine*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, m That none should after call them Ἀθῶναι, *Athnians*, but Ἀθηνοί, *Atticos*. A revenge I suppose opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν ἀπειροὶ καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ὅτι οἱ, πικρὰν ποσειδῶνα, παρατηντοὶ τὴν κῶν. *Curius bablers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* οὐδεὶς γὰρ ταῖς ἀλυσίαις. A sufficient witness of this is a *St. Luke*, that says, *They did regard nothing more then to hear and speak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all the news, that was going in those days, was current. Hence say we, *verba in con- strinis proculcata*: and in Greek ἐν τοῖς καυτοῖς λόγῳ, b *Aristophanes*.

καὶ τοὺς λόγῳ γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεκλειῶ, πλὺς

ἐπὶ πᾶσι καυτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει πλὺς ὅ

They that sat in Barbers Shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comcedian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle. c *Alia* καὶ τὸ ὁμῶς ἐν τῇ πόλει, φασκεῖς, καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν πᾶσι τῇ πόλει.

*Ἰπποκράτης*. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thirty to speak ill by all means, *ὄφθαλμοι*, men Italianated, who can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Θεοφράστης* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortall Embracements, and clasp you in those arms, which they mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. *Συκοφαντία*. Given to false accusations. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and some, nevertheless the Decree being absolute against it presuming so to do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *Plutarch* likewise) Hence came this word to be used for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promooting, One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *Aristophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the scene, terming himself an *Overseer* both of private and public like matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a credulous Client, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimissory. *Εὐσῖν* (*Sycophantæ*) καὶ γὰρ παρ' ὧν χεῖματα λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ οὖν. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what *Athens* was, answered, καλὴ καὶ αἰετὶς, beautiful, *ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ συκοφαντία* καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ, in a Verse of a *Homæ*, in the description of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual succession of sycophants. This made *Iſocrates* the O-  
rator to compare the city to a Curtezan w<sup>th</sup> whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife, affirm-  
ing it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit:

By

By reason of their Sycophants and trecheries of nimble tongued Oratours. *ἵσταντοί τε τῶν ξενικῶν βίαν.* I was once halfe in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former thus *σικκοῦσιν τοῖς ξέναις τὴν βίαν.* And I thinke the sense will runne well, *Malicious observers of the lives of strangers.* The Athenians were *ἐπιξενῶν* and held hospitality sacred, and i doubt not but they had that Law, *ἥ τις ξενικῶν δεῖναι οὐκ ἔστιν.* b *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now he discommends the *Ἀθηναῖοι* as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the *Atheniens* they were *μεγαλόθυμοι, ἀπλοὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, τιμὰς ἡρώων ποιοῦντες,* Brave spirited, single dealing, and faithfull friends. But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate, growing into *ἀνωμαλία, ἢς εὐσεως,* an Irregularitie of nature, as c *Polybius.* No *μεγαλόθυμοι* afterwards, but haughtinesse of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when b *Livy* sayes *Ex veteri fortuna nihil præter animos servare,* he meanes, they had nothing left but those proud spirits, which their ancient flourishing fortune had puffed up. No d *αὐλοῦ,* or simplicity, no e *ἀνθρωπίνης ἀναισθησίας* or mildnesse; but as f *Plutarch* speaks, people rashly angry, soone pittifull, rather inclined sharply to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe base and object peasants, so friendly do they entertaine childish and ridiculous toys, rejoycing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearfull and terrible even to their governors, humane towards their enemies. Not unfily then g *Valerius Maximus,* *Quantam ergo reprehensibilem merentur, &c.* How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just lawes, yet had most wicked dispositions, and chose rather to take their own courses, then put in practise their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to expresse a countenance void of shame, the Comedian hath put *Ἀθηναῖον βλάβη,* An Athenian looke, in h *Nubius.* *ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ φούλακτος,* So accounted in the time of a *Paterculus,*

b A *πομπή.*  
p. 413.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4 p. 7.  
l. 1.

e Aristoph. p.  
694.

f *πολύτ.* π.  
p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3. p.  
207.

h Pag. 189. g.  
a Lib. 2. p. 47.

culat, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the  
*Romans* would say it was performed *sic Attica*, with an *A-*  
*thian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them trusty,  
 but how they brake their Leagues, took part with other  
*Islanders* against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms,  
 Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was *disu-*  
*er*, ever mindfull, as *b Virgil*, *memor ira*. And the hatred *b Æneid. 1.*  
 they prosecuted the Barbarians withal, was so unquenchable,  
 that it burned against *c all Barbarians* for the *Persians* sake, and  
 they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murder-  
 ers among them: Where you must note, that all that were  
 not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! How  
 are they now become all barbarous! whether or no people of  
*Africa*, or some of the *Catelanis*, I cannot justly tell. *Mabuime-*  
*ans* all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or  
 tilling the earth, *d Favolius* *Durâq, coacti* *d Hædæp.*  
*Byz. l. 3.*

*Pauperie assuerunt vitam tolerare rapina.*

*Aut passim infestant furto, raptôq, propinqua*

*Æquora pirata, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis*

*Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine piscis.*

*Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,*

*Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egenæ.*

Opprest with need, they do their life sustain

By rapine, and annoy the neighbor main

With pillaging. Who are more just and good

With angling do the silly fish delude;

Or plough the grounds made desolate before,

Unhappy, wretched, miserable, still poor.



## CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Εὐπατριῶν. Τεμπέροι. Δεμιουργοί. Πεντακτύ-  
οι ἄνθρωποι. Ἰππῆς. Ζεφυῖται. Θῆπες. Quid Atheniensibus cum  
Ægyptiis commune.

e So doth Dio-  
nysius Halicar-  
nassensis divide  
them into  
εὐπατριῶν &  
δεμοί, &c.  
lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux. l. 8.  
c. 9. p. 404.

4 In Solene.

c Pag. 61. In  
Solonem.

Here were at first two kinds of People in Athens, e two  
orders, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq; aliquid  
interlucebat, in which there was difference of dignity and  
fortune: such as at this day are in France either Peers or  
Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And al-  
though Pollux calls them τρία γένη, three sorts, yet I make but  
two, because the τεμπέροι were not any way more gentle for  
blood, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he  
hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, α τρία γένη  
ἔχον παλαιά Εὐπατριῶν, Τεμπέροι, Δεμιουργοί. Εὐπατριῶν, Eupatriæ,  
were such as were descended from the loyns of those Heroes  
famous in the Greek History, whose families were ever re-  
nowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such  
as Praxiergide, Eteobutade, Alcæoniæ, Cynide, Ceryces, &c.  
whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Τεμπέροι,  
Gomeri, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of  
their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and com-  
modity of these their possessions. Δεμιουργοί, Demurgi, were  
men of some handy-craft, Trades-men, such as Tent-makers,  
Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Masons, and the like. But Solon made  
another division. For when the Diacrii, which were those  
that lived in the upper part of the City, διὰ τὸ ὕψος, says Di-  
ogenes Laertius, and the Pediai, which likewise are πρὸς τὴν μέσην  
as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the Pa-  
ralii who lived near the Sea, were at contention about go-  
vernment. The Diacrii leaning to a Democracy, as e Plutarch  
writes, the Pediai to an Oligarchy, and the Paralii between  
both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine the  
matter

matter; he made these four ranks. Πεντακοσμιῶντες, Ἰπποκοσμοῦντες, ἑκατομωνοῦντες, Πεντακοσμιῶντες, *Pentacosmiedimnos, Equites-Zeugitas, Theas.* *Pentacosmiedimni* were those who could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here; for he supposes that *Pentacosmiedimnos* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Ase-dimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ὡς ὕδατος. For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzevirii* printed at *Leyden*, *An.* 1635. under the name of *Possellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium*. *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἑκατομωνοῦντες. *Zeugites*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of these three could bear office in the Commonwealth. A fourth rank which he called ὀνείρας, *Theas*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal-publique. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Egyptians* had divided their people into three Classes, as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatrides*, addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Egyptian* Priests. Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumolpide, Ceryces, Cynide*. For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱερεῖς ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ in *Demosthenes*. The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Egypt* who hold possessions on these rearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those Plebeians, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diomedes Siculus* can testifie.

*Plutarch. de co. praedict.*

*Plut. Thef. p. 8. l. 18.*  
*g. Pag. 741.*  
*num. 164.*

## CAP. V.

*Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope mutata eorum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ. Φεγγία. Φεγγες. Τεφίς. Ιθί. Τριβύλιον Κοινότης. Φυλακή δὲ τὰς Φεγγίας.*

IN Athens there were but four Tribes under the rule of Cecrops. Cecropis, Antæthron, Aëtaa, Paralía; which had other names put to them, Cranais, Atthis, Mælogæa, Diacris. I suppose from the parts of Attica, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence Aëtaa, partly hilly, thence Diacris, partly Mediterrane, thence Mælogæa, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as Cecrops gave the first names, Cranais the second, each assuming a title to himself. Erichonius called them after the name of Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan. Διός. Αθηνάς. Ποσειδάωνος. Ηφαίστου. But when Ion came to rule, they were named after his four sons, Geleontes, Egicorais, Argades, Hopletes, as a Herodotus and b Enripius. Though Plutarch says that they were so called, c εἰς τὰς ἑκατὶ ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν τεσσάρων, from the courses of life which they first took. Eur Clisthenes, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Council of d Apollo, Alcmaeon being Archon to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demi-gods or Heroes born in that land, all except Ajax, whom, though a stranger, he put to the rest as a neighbor and companion. e Herodotus. These then were called Εκατόντες; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as Minerva is said by Dion Chrysostom, Εκατόν & Ἀδελφόν, who gave the names to Athens. To these were erected Statues near the Council place of the Senate. Their names are these, as f Pausanias hath them. Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamonius,

a In Terpsich.  
p. 137.

b In Ione ver-  
sus finem.

c in Solon. p.

65.

d Aristides T.  
1. p. 336. A. T.  
3. p. 352.

e In Terpsich.  
p. 137.

f in Att. p. 4. 5.

nus, Leo, Erechtheus that slew Immaradus the son of Eumolpus in the Eleusinian War, Agæus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cicrops, Pandion. From these *Ἰππολύς, Αἰγέως, Αἰακῆς, Αἰώνιος, Οὐνίας, Ἀγαμέμνων, Κρόνος, Πανδίων*. To which they put two more, one called after Antigonus, the other after Demetrius his name in gratitude to them for the favors received, which in process of time they changed into *Attalis* and *Ptolemais*, as Stephanus writes, *ὅτι οὗτοι ἑταίρου ἐπερὶ τῶν Περσέων βασιλέων*, having been courteously entreated by the \* Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that Livy deceive us not, who at the time, when Attalus did succour the Athenians against Philip, says, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the Rhodii rescued four fighting Ships of the Athenians taken by the Macedonians, and sent them home, \* *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus

\* These are reckoned among the Eponyms in Paul. p. 5. who had statues likewise.

a Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. b Enstathius writes that they were divided in imitation of the year. The four Tribes according to the four quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call *παιτὺς* or *τετραπαι*, answerable to the twelve Months, each *τετραπαι* or *παις*, into thirty *ἡμέραι* or kindreds, equalising the days. For so many onely had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of Chobulus concerning the year.

b In Il. b. pag. 181.

c Lactius, p. 63. l. 1.

Εἰς πατρὶα, πᾶσις ὃ δώδεκα τῶν ἡμερῶν

Πατρὶς τεκνέωντα, ἡμερῶν τεκνέωντα.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, *εὐνοβασταί*, Kings of the Tribes, who sat upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertain also had his overseer called, *τετρωρχ* the Ruler of the *Tritys* or *Phratry*. The word may seem to signifie a Society, Fellowship, or Com-

Company. It skills not whether you derive it from *εαρία*; *Eustath*, or *πατρις*, as *Suidas*, or *ερία*, as others, which is a Well, because they drew Water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-spring in *Athens*, they were constrained to use *ερετραι* *νομιστοίς*, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch*. *ερετρίαι* are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Laciadæ*s should come into his Farm. In description of which thing *Plutarch* uses *ἐμμετρίαι*, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as *πυργεῖν* and *συμφορῆς*) but *popularis*. These at Festival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observes, & *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) *ερατρίζον*, *Phratrizin*, from hence comes, which is *τοῖς ερατρίαι συνιέναι*, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place, *ἐν ταυτῷ συνιέναι*. As for the *φύλη*, or kindreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. *Γένεα τρεῖς* (every *Γένος* or kindred consisting of thirty, whence they were named *τριάκοντες*) *ἐκαστὴν δὲ τὴν συνόδον ἑκατομυρία δίδωμεν*. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod; which the Grammarians call *σύνθημα κοινωνικόν*, a Communicative familiarity, *κοινωνία*, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Privileges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. *δέναν φυλετικὰ*, and *ερατρίκα* *b Atheniens*. *Τῶν δὲ νῦν δέναν προνοῦντες τὰ ἐν νομοθεσίᾳ τὴ φυλετικὰ δέναν καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν διόσους καὶ τὰ ερατρίκα &c.* Of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular.

Moreover

*d* In *Solone* p.  
69. l. 33.

*a* *Iliad*. C. pag.  
181. & H. 1.  
pag. 629.  
*b* *Lib*. 3. c. 4.

*b* *Dapic Soph*.  
15. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as Philosophers for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence ἑστῶτων τῶν εὐανη, and ἐστῶτων τοῦ φιλοσοφίας. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, That Wine hath ἐλκυστικὸν ἢ ποδὲς ἐκλίσαι, an attractive and perswading force to procure love and friendship.

CAP. VI.

*Grecia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere δῆμος. Quot? Templâ & sacra pagatim.*

ALL Greece was inhabited καὶ καὶ, as *e Thucydides* speaks <sup>e Lib. 1.</sup> by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comædy. <sup>d Donat. in Præf. in Ter.</sup> At verò nondum coactis in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id est, Pastorum vicinorumque præsidî Deo, constructis aris in honorem divinæ circum Atticâ vicos, villas, & compita festum carmen solenniter cantarent: orta est Comædia ἀπὸ τοῦ καταλίζειν ἢ ἀδελφ., quod est, commessatum ire cantantes. The Athenians being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they sung sacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the President of the Shepherds and Neighbors, about the Villages, Houses, and cross ways of Attica, Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, sprung up a Comædy, ἀπὸ τοῦ καταλίζειν ἢ ἀδελφ., from reveling and singing. Others will have it derived from an ancient custom they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the Street, where the Offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, αὐτὸς ἴνα ἀδικεῖ, ἢ τὸ τοῦ ἀδικητοῦ, δῶν ἔπειτα, καὶ νέων. Such a one doth wrong, and commits such and such Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws, by which these abuses were reformed. But the *Anonymous*, in a Preface to *Aristophanes*, sayes, μὴ καὶ καὶ καλεῖται ἄρα Ἀθῶναιος, ἀλλὰ δῆμος, that they were not called καὶ καὶ, or Villages by the Athenians, but δῆμος, which they translate

state *Populos*, better in my minde, oppida, or Towns. Cicero  
 Lib. 7. Ep. 3. ad b. *Atticum*. Venio ad Persea in quo magis reprehendendus  
 sum, quod homo Romanus Piræa scripserim non Piræum (sic  
 enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non  
 enim hoc ut oppidum preposui, sed ut de loco: & tamen Dionysius  
 noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Corus, non rebatur oppidum  
 esse Piræa, sed de eo vid. ro. Nostrium quidem si est peccatum in  
 eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco. secutus-  
 que sum non dico Cecilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (ma-  
 liscum enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cuius fabelle pro-  
 pter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Caio Lelio scribi. Heri  
 aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem Mercator  
 hoc addebat captam de Sunio. Quod si finis oppida volumus  
 esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quàm Piræus. If so be we will  
 have *Sunus* to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræus* is a  
 Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as *Pausanias* tes-  
 tifies. *Ἰσχυρὰ δὲ δὴ μὲν, ἥ ἐν τοῖς δῆμοις γάραι ποιεῖ, ὡς καὶ  
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων τοῖς ἑσπερίοις.* Moreover, I have writ-  
 ten, that some of the Towns were governed by a King be-  
 fore the reign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for some of them  
 far surpassed other Cities, as *Aristides* affirmeth. These  
 were most peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called *ναυκλῆ-  
 πται*, as *Aristoph. Schol.* or *Ναυκίπτοι*, as *Pollux*, twelve be-  
 longing to every Tribe. But *Clisthenes* changed them into *δῆ-  
 μους* as out of *Aristotle the Schol. of Aristoph.* The number  
 of them is as *g Eustathius* out of *Strabo* and *h Casaubon*, an  
 hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name  
 are distinguished according to their situations, κατὰ μέρος, and  
*κατὰ μέρος*, as we may say the upper and the lower *Wakefield*,  
*&c.* All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The  
*ἰσχυρὰ* or less are these, *Alimusii*, *Zoster*, *Prospaltii*, *Ana-  
 gyzastii*, *Cephale*, *Prasiciis*, *Lampreis*, *Phlyeis*, *Myrrinusii*,  
*Athmonis*, *Acharne*, *Marathon*, *Brauron*, *Rhamnus*. The  
 rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their  
 Tribes.



Κ Ε Κ Ο Π Ι Σ.

Αζώνη. Δαδάλιδαι. Επικείδαι. Ξυλίτη. Πίδου. Συπαλητός.  
Τριμεύς. Αθμόνον ή Αθμοίς. Αλκί Αζονίδας. Φλύα. Αχονος.  
*Dadalide, Epiecida, Xyrite, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Ath-*  
*monon or Athmonia. Ale Axonidis. Phlya.*

Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Η Σ.

Αγρύλη ή Αγρύλη. Ελάνια ή Ευάνια. Θάλακοι ή Θήλακες,  
Κοιτίς. Λαμπρά. Καθύπερδιν. Λαμπρά. Καθύπερδιν ή παρόλιν.  
Παμβωτίδου. Περμασ. Συβείδου. Φηγός. Αναγρύς. *Agrule or*  
*Agryle. Eunymia or Eunymus. Themaci or Themacus. Ce-*  
*phya.* The upper *Lampira*. The lower *Lampira*, in which *Sigo-*  
*mus* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior,  
which to be one and the same I have shewen above. *Pamb-*  
*tade. Pergase. Sybride, Phagus, Anagryus.*

Παρόλιν.

Αγρέλη. Κυθαθώνιος. Κυθάρη. Οά ή Οίς. Παιανία καθύπερ-  
διν. Παιανία. Καθύπερδιν. Προβαλίνδου. Στιρία. Φηγία. Μυρρίνης.  
*Angele, Cydatheneum. Cytharum. Oa or Oeis,* the upper *Pe-*  
*ania,* the under *Pania. Probalinthus, Stiria. Phagea. Myrrhi-*  
*nis.*

Αγρύς.

Αλκί Αραφονίδας. Αραφώ. Βατή. Γαργήδου. Διονεία. Ερεχθία. Ερί-  
κρια. Εχρία. Ικαρία ή Ικαρίθ. Κολυθός. Κυδαντίδου. Πλοθία. Τί-  
στα. Χητρία. Φιλαιδου. Χολλίδου. *Ale Araphonids. Araphen.*  
*Bate. Gargettus. Dionca. Eriethia. Ericria. Echria. Icaria or*  
*Icarinus. Ionide. Colyetus. Cydantide. Plothia. Tithras. Phagea.*  
*Philede. Chollide.*

Αχαμαντίς.

Αγρύς. Ερεσίδου. Ερμός ή Ερμός, Ηρακλείδου. Θόεικος. Ιπία. Κί-  
ωια. Σαυτίος. Χόλαργος. Χόλαργος. Χόλαργος. Κασολή. Πόσπαλα.  
*Agryus. Erisida. Hermus or Hermi. Hephestiade. Thyrus. Ita.*  
*Cicyana. Sphettus. Cholargus Cholargi. Cholargia Cephele. Pro-*  
*palia.*

Λεοντίς.

Αιθαλίδου. Αιθαλία. Αρίδης. Αρίδης. Εργία. Εμπειδου. Κηττός.

D

Κηττία.

Κρωπία Λακωνίος. Όσον Κεερον. Πεονίδαι. Πήληκας. Ποτερύς.  
Σεμαβονίδαι. Σέντον. Τεα Τεάδω. Φρίαφοι. Μασεβάν. Αλιμύς.  
Ethalide Ethalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Syprade.  
Cetti. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum. Ceramicum. Paonide. Pela-  
ces. Potamus. Scambonide. Sunium. Hyba Hybade. Phreavri.  
Marathon. Alimus.

#### Ιπποτονίς.

Αζωλία. Αυοξαντήα. Αναλία. Αχερδής. Δικέλενα. Ελαιδής Ε-  
λαιός. Ελδός. Ερεαδαί. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κεριαδαί. Κορυδαλλός. Ό-  
ον Δικελ. Οινόν Εδδ. Σενδαήν. Azenia. Amaxantia. Ana-  
cea. Achardus. Decelia. Eleans. Eleusis. Araade. Thy-  
metade. Cariada. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad  
Eleutheras. Spendale.

#### Αρποχίς.

Αιγλία ή Αιγία. Αλωπική Αλωπεκαί. Αμφισποή. Ανάφλως. Α-  
τλων Ατλωία. Βήσας. Θοράι. Κριώα. Λόκοπύα. Μελαρινός ή Μέλαι-  
νας. Παλλωνή. Πεντήλε. Σεμαχίδαι. Φάληρον. Agilia or Agi-  
lus. Alopec or Alopeca. Amphitrope. Anaphylstus. Atene or  
Atenia. Bessa. Thora. Crioa. Leucopyro. Milenais or Mila-  
na. Pallene. Pentele. Samachide. Phalerum.

#### Αιζονίς.

Οινόν Μαρεδ. Τιταχίδαι. Τρικόρυθ. Ραμνός. Oenoe at Ma-  
cachon. Titacide. Trichorithus. Rhamnus. Of this tribe were  
some towns taken away & put to other, Aphydna, Perside, &c.  
Οινίς.

Βύτια. Βυταίδαι. Ετικηρισία. Θρία ή Θρία. Ιπποτομαίδαι. Λακία,  
Λακιάδαι. Λασιά. Μελίτη. Οη ή Οη. Περεδίδαι. Πτολία. Φολέ.  
Αχαρνα. Τυρμίδαι. Butea, Rusade. Epicephisa. Thria or Thria.  
Hippotomade. Lacia, Laciade. Lusfa. Melite. Oe or Oe. Puri-  
thade. Ptelea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrmide.

#### Πτολεμαίς.

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicida. Thyrgonida. Κορυδών. Con-  
thyle.

#### Ατταλίς.

Απολλωνίς. Apollonienfes. These are all which authors  
make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me. But these are they. *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphidae. Archilia. Astypalea. Atalanta. Acheirus. Belbina. Brauron. Brilessus. Enna. Echelide. Zoster. Thiron. Cale. Cede. Cethocida. Coele. Cynosarges. Ceramicus* without the city the same with *Academia. Laurium. Lencum. Limne. Munychia. Parnes. Phyx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum. Sporgilus. Hydrusa. Hymettus. Hysia. Phaura. Phormisii. Phristu. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Islands, called *Pharmacuse*, two in number, and *Psytalia*. The Scholiast of <sup>a</sup> *Aristophanes* speakes as if *Io* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that their might be no fraud or deceite; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in their writs. N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca*, ἐν Κοίλῃ, ἐν Μελίτῃ. ἐν Κεραύει. of *Cele*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. <sup>b</sup> *Livie. Templapagatim sacrata.* And againe. *Delubra sibi fuisse, quae quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisque consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerent.* So much witnesseth <sup>c</sup> *Pausanias*; who tels us that they worshipped some peculiar Deity, and yet neverthelesse did τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄγῃ ἐς ἡμᾶς, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar festivalls, as *Brauron* the solemnities *Brauronea*, to *Diana Diomca*, to *Jupiter Diomeus*, *Chitonea* &c.

<sup>a</sup> In Rano. p. 235.

<sup>b</sup> Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

<sup>c</sup> In Atticis. p. 77. l. 40.

## CAP. VIII.

Τυραννίς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. Atheniensium status mutatio.  
 Ἰσχυρὸς Σωτῆραν Μόρας. Δέξ.

In Ctesiphontian p. 4.

THE ancients had but three sorts of government. Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia, as d<sup>e</sup> Aeschines, which Polybius calls βασιλεία, δεισκρατία, δημοκρατία. where although the one names it a Tyrannis or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as Servius on Virgil hath observed. A word taken up by the Gracians about the time of Archilochus, which neither Homer, nor Hesiod knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἰδοὺ πειπονδοῖτες, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the Trojan wars, Tyrants or Tyrannos. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeisance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, then for fear or might. Αἰσκρατία an Aristocratie, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helme of the Weale publique. Δημοκρατία a Democracie, when the Lawes and customes of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the rest, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δέξαν τῶν πλείονος saies Polybius, as that may be said at a banquet to please all, which doth relish well with the most. But the grave historian hath observed changes in such government, as they use to be, inclining to the worst Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the persuasions of some pleasing popular man, and are as it were willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shal lay on them; a Tyrant indeed said, <sup>b</sup> Vi consecutus, who gets it by violence, Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, que libertate

<sup>a</sup> Aristot. 1. pol. l. 5. c. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Probus in Miltiade.

<sup>c</sup> Probus ibid. p. 17.

*bertate usa est.* But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratic*, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up and exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratic* being, as <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle* d *Tol.* l. 4. c. 9 hath it, *Vertue*, which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, *εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν πεποιτῆς καὶ εὐχρίν*, naturally enclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a state cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords and little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Lawes, who unjustly favour those that are partially the rs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred *τῶν* <sup>f</sup> *Æschines* in *περὶ τοῦ* *ἡθὺς ἐπιστηκτόν*, by their presidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, not bearing *τὰς* <sup>g</sup> *ἄδικας* the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls *ἐν τῷ πολλῷ ἀδυνάτῳ*, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *equam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Oratours* have properly used the word *πολιτία*, as <sup>h</sup> *Ulpian* observeth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Rascallitie. All these in their times did *Athens* seele, for they were governed by Kings foure hundred eightie seaven yeares: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorians* and *Athenians* offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorians* should be conquerours unlessse the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himselfe *similari veste ne pesser agnoscere*, saies <sup>a</sup> *Cicero*, with a servants habit least he should be

*Æschines* in *περὶ τοῦ ἡθὺς ἐπιστηκτόν*, by their presidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on a rage, not bearing τὰς ἀδικας the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a Democratie, which Sophocles calls ἐν τῷ πολλῷ ἀδυνάτῳ, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true citizens: whence Terence stiles it equam libertatem; for which the Greek Oratours have properly used the word πολιτία, as Ulpian observeth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass against the Lawes, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government an Ochlocratie, the rule of Rascallitie. All these in their times did Athens seele, for they were governed by Kings foure hundred eightie seaven yeares: the last of which was Codrus, who in a fight between the Dorians and Athenians offered himselfe willingly to be slaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of Apollo that the Dorians should be conquerours unlessse the Athenian King were killed; he therefore cloathing himselfe similari veste ne pesser agnoscere, saies Cicero, with a servants habit least he should be

*In Demost.* *P. 59.*

*Tol. Q. 11.*

known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, <sup>b</sup>*quod memoria nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the Title *αρχοντες*, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for term of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to chosse a man, whose office should continue but tenne yeares; seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventy yeares; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore <sup>c</sup> *αἰετὸν Μαγιστράτου*, yearly Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus* for a fained fear of the seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safetie, For when the faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lances, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, *ἀγορῶν*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed <sup>d</sup> thirty yeares, and deceased, leaving behind him two sonnes, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slaine by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedemonians*, the offspring of *Alcmaeon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsell he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democracie* came in eight hundred sixtie eight yeares after *Cicrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fift rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law afterwards abrogated by *Aristides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

<sup>b</sup> Justin. l. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Justin. l. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Heraclides in Pol.

<sup>e</sup> Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

ly the Τετρακισιήκοντα or foure hundred took upon them state, deceaving the people, as <sup>f</sup> Aristotle and Thucydides affirme. <sup>f</sup> Pol. l. c. 57. For periwading them that they should reconcile <sup>g</sup> Tisaphernes and Alcibiades unto themselves by that meanes, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the war, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war. These princes were called <sup>a</sup> τετρακισιήκοντα, τετρακισιήκοντες, Five thousand, though not exceeding foure hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare armes, nor any admitted to publique power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficiall to the Republic. Their authority was granted by an <sup>b</sup> Act of the people, to which Theramenes was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out, whereupon they termed him <sup>c</sup> κρόσσον *Crossonum*, from a kind of start-up which did fit both feet. <sup>d</sup> ὃ δὲ κρόσσον ἀνέμεινον μετὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀμεινόντες εἰσι. The word may sute with a lack of both sides. These τετρακισιήκοντες were constrained for feare of <sup>d</sup> Alcibiades to resigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull banishment. But when Lysander had overcome Athens (the <sup>e</sup> Lacedemonians ever affecting an Oligarchie, as the Athenians a Democratie) he ordained these thirty to be chiefe. <sup>f</sup> Pol. l. c. 57. <sup>e</sup> Arist. Pol. l. 5. <sup>c</sup> 7. <sup>f</sup> Xen. Ecl. c. p. 270. <sup>g</sup> In Catil. Consp. <sup>h</sup> Xen. p. 272. <sup>g</sup> Salust, without triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; <sup>h</sup> some for envy, others for riches. These to make their partie firme chose about three thousand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made some



i Xenop. 275.

k Dem. p. 467.

a Vide Laert.  
in vita, & Stra-  
bonem.b Plut in De-  
metri. o.  
c Pollux. l. 8.

some, filed *i* *καὶ οἱ νόμοι*, which were nullified by a decree; as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer *ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λή-  
γε*, who was registred in the list of three thousand. So cruel  
were they, that the people fled into *k* *Phyle* a castle in the  
Athenian borders; and making an head under the conduct of  
*Thrasybulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free un-  
till the death of *Alexander* even fourescore yeares, whom  
*Antipater* succeeded; who in battle at the Citie *Lamia* gave  
the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on  
these termes that they should submit to a few *Peers*, whose  
revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachm'es* at least, the  
chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should like-  
wise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the asswaging of  
riots and uproares. But foure yeares after, *Antipater* dying,  
the Citie fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they of-  
ten strove to acquit themselves. But in vaine. For he brought  
them to such an exigencie, that they were glad to come to  
composition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them giving  
them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things,  
so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose  
revenues come not to tenne *mina* or pounds, should under-  
goe any function in the Common-weale; and he should be  
their overseer whom he would be pleased to nominate. The  
man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, a who made the  
Citie to shine in her full lustre, insomuch that they erected in  
honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatise of  
the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured,  
would have given no small light to my poore endeavours.  
After he in trouble and vexation had spent foureteen yeares,  
he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, turna-  
med *P. Iorretes*, who restored the ancient customes to them  
again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his fa-  
ther, that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archen*  
into *βασίλην*, or *basileus*. The Priest of the Gods that saved them,  
calling the yeare after his name, and adding *b* two Tribes to  
the

the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as <sup>c</sup> *Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the sonne and father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach nere their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gnatus* succeeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reigne put in presidiarie souldiers to the Citie, which tenne yeares after he took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon.* *F. & Antigonus Dofon*, out of whose hands <sup>d</sup> *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the Citie, and made it stand by it selfe untill *Philip*, the last king of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in *Livie*. But he was expelled by the *Romans*, who took the *Athenians* into league with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receive <sup>f</sup> *Arch. Stratus*, *Mithridates* his Generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded <sup>a</sup> *Aratus* *Corymbus*, a mercilesse slaughter, saies *Appian*, that the <sup>g</sup> streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour, and therefore they lived in a neere resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman* Emperours; *Julius Caesar*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, *Gallienus*, in whose successours time, *Claudius*, the second of that name, this City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reason, that the *Greekes*, spending th. in time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for war. *Constantine* the Great likewise had this City in high esteeme, taking to himselfe the Title of *Σταυρωδης Ανωδης*, as <sup>b</sup> *Julian* saies, which in the words of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is <sup>c</sup> *το το μεγαλο Δουκος (ὁνομα)* the Grand Duke, whom simply afterwards

d Plut. in vita

e Decad. 4. l. 1.

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico circa pag. 122. 123. &c. g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptista Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 1. b In Oracione Constantium. c Hist. Rom. 17. p. 166.

d Hist. Rom.  
l. 7 p. 167.  
e Nic. Greg.  
lib. citat.

f Calcochon.  
ἡστίαις  
ἐν τῷ Ναυπλίῳ.

\*In the time of  
Pietro Zani  
came ambassa-  
dors from A-  
thens to doe ho-  
mage to the Ve-  
netian Senate.  
M. Leukenor in  
history and lives  
of the Venetian  
Princes.  
g Chalcocon.  
l. 9 p. 299.

wards they called the *Duke of Athens*; in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them wives, citizens of this place; and the daughters of their Dukes have been desired by that eminent ranke. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Raincrius Acciajolus* is said to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, *ἡστίαις ἐν τῷ Ναυπλίῳ* is *Ἰσπανία*; who having no issue male of his wife *Eubus*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Boetia* and *Thibes* to him, but *Athens* to the *Venetians*, from whom his sonne recovered it againe. *Nerius* succeeded him in the Dukedome who thrust out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second got *Athens*, & whose beauty and building he held in admiration, which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one sonne an infant, his mother in the child's Title exercised Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas*, *Prianus*) who came thither for merchandize Him by discourse and flattery she entised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedom of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoys the government of the Citie, who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himselfe the *Child's Tutor*. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enstalled, imprisoned

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means  
not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Francus* in time *a* Chalcocon.p.  
was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Pe-* 300.  
*loponnesus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that  
the *Athenians* would have delivered the  
Citie to the Prince of *Bæotia*. He  
was the last Duke.

E 2

LIB.





## LIBER SECVNDVS.

## CAP. I.

*Duodecim Dii Atheniensium Idololatria septisariam  
commissa. Dii Adscriptiui. Θεὸς Ἀγλαός.*

*a* Pag. 48.

*b* In Tractu  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας  
κακονείας.  
p. 669.



*c* Sch. Eurip.  
in Alcest. pag.  
661.

*d* Εὐμάρης, ἱστορ.  
in Stel. i.

*e* Pag. 260.

*f* P. 281.

*Herodotus* in *a* *Terpsichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their religion from the *Egyptians*. But *b* *Plutarch* doth stoutly deny it. And not without good testimonie may I affirme that it seems to bee a falsitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the mysteries of piety into *Greece*, who was himse. te a *Thracian*, from whom the word *c* *θεσις* is supposed to be drawn, which signifies devotion. Τὸτο ἔν τὸ ἡμῶν θεὸς ἀγλαός, saies *d* *Nonnus*. They called *θεσις*, to worship God, &c. Appositely to which *e* *Aristophanes* in *Β. 2. 764* οἷς.

Ο θεὸς μὴ δὲ πλατὺς ὁ ἡμῶν κατὰ θεοῖς, εὐδυν τ' ἀπ' ἑλθῶ.  
*Orpheus* sh. wed us sacrifices, and to abstaine from slaughter. Ne-  
ther is *f* *Euripids* disagreeing in *Rheso*.

Μυστήριον τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων θανός.

*E* *scilicet* *Orpheus* — *Orpheus* revealed the hidden myste-  
ries. *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worship of Whom  
the Greeks might borrow from the *Egyptians*; Twelve in  
number

number they were, quoth he, but these onely are reckoned.  
*Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Isis or  
 Ceres. Sais or Minerva. Latona.* as I have gathered, which  
 all at once to have been made known to the *Greeke*, and  
 that by the *Aegyptians* is too hard a task for me to prove.  
 The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall ho-  
 nour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in  
*Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called *ἡ Βωμὴ τῶν δώδεα θεῶν* Paul. Attic.  
 on which a little before the *Sicilian warre*, a man dis- p. 3. l. 8.  
 membred himselfe with a stone; which was accounted prodigi- b Plut. in Ni-  
 gious. By these twelve would they swear in common dis- cia. p. 387. l. 26.  
 course. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ δώδεκα θεῶν.* The heathens thinking that they i Aristoph.  
 did honour thole Gods by whom they swears as I have else- Equip. 300. A.  
 where spoken. But they were not confined to so small a num-  
 ber as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through  
 the seven sorts of Idolatrie? First worshipping the Sunne, &  
 punishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in  
*Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the ef-  
 fects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* inter-  
 prets *Διὸς*, *Ceres*, *τῆς τροφῆς*, corne or food. Thirdly, the poeti- k Vide Podi-  
 call Gods. *Furies*, and revengers of wickednesse, as *Alaſtres*, num in Demo-  
*Palamnei*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love*, *Pittie*. *Injurie* like- nologia.  
 wise and *Impudences*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at  
*Athens*. Fifthly the accidents of growth and nourishment.  
 hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities, *ἡ ἀύξω*, to increase, and  
*ἡ θάλλω*, to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and  
*Atropos*, the three satall sisters, and *Εὐκαιρία*, *Necessitie*, taken  
 sometime for death it selfe. 6ly, the Theogonie or pedigree  
 of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which *Homer*  
 speaks. *Τρεῖς δὲ μύρια*, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ig-  
 norance of the providence and bountie of God toward them,  
 fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Esculapinus* the  
 God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can adde an eighth  
 way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange  
 Gods. *Ἀλλοῦται δ' ὡς περ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενίας διαπλεῖσι, ἔτι το*

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 471.

<sup>b</sup> In Panath.  
T. 1. p. 188.

<sup>c</sup> Strab. p. 587.

<sup>d</sup> Afr. A post.  
c. 17. v. 18.

<sup>e</sup> In Attic. p. 1.  
l. 35.

<sup>f</sup> Vide Eurip.  
Sch. in Med. p.  
482.

<sup>g</sup> Pag. 137.

ἡ δὲ καὶ θεῶν. saies. <sup>a</sup> Strabo, as the Athenians love foreigners, so *ferraine* Gods. Οὐ δὲ μόνον καὶ προσκυτᾶται ἀπὸ τῶν ἑθνῶν, &c. <sup>b</sup> *Aristides*. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones; such as <sup>c</sup> *Orthanc*, *Conisalus*, and *Tychen*. So prone were they to conceive superstition, that when <sup>d</sup> *Paul* preached *Jesus* and the resurrection of the dead; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which <sup>e</sup> *Pansanias*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scripture bearing witness. The cause of this they say to be a searefull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (<sup>f</sup> *Pan*, from whom *vanus à spectrum*) was neglected, and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his helpe, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar To THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the disease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀφρικῆς, ὅσῳ Ἀγνοοῖσιν καὶ Ζεῖσι. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE VNKOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As <sup>g</sup> *Justin Martyr* and *Oecumenius*. Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and houses, much of their *Heroes* or *Demigods*. We will view them in order.



CAP. II.

Jupiter βασιλῆς. Νέμιος. Ἰκίον. Πολύτονος. Βελών. ἱερεῖς. φίλος. Ομήων. καταβάτης. Ἑρκιος. Ἀγροῦ. Ἐβνι. Μοδίου salis edendi, Tesseræ hospitalis seu Symbolum. Apollo ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρ. πατρὸς. Ἀλεξίφρων, θυελλῶν. Pean, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος ὁ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος. Mercurius Περσέων. Εὐάντιος. Στεργῶν. Περγύων.

**A**bove other of their Gods Jupiter was had in high esteeme. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the Athenians were bidden to dissolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of Jupiter, <sup>a</sup> πρῶτος ὃς Δία <sup>a</sup> Sch. Aristop. βασιλῆς. And so by <sup>b</sup> Aristophanes he is called Ζῶς βασιλῆς. <sup>b</sup> in Nub. bus Him they worshipped as President of Law and Justice, under the name of Jupiter Nemius (different from that of Cerinth named Νέμιος) Him as God of supplicants, hence δακνόν, Him as Protector of Cities, hence πολίχον. Him as Governour and director of their counsells, hence βελών. Him as cheife of their Societies, hence θυελλῶν, and of their friendship too, hence φίλος; and of kindred likewise, hence ομήων. To him they ascribed Thunder, hence Ζῶς καταβάτης, as much as comming downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the Persians, wrought by Themistocles, hence ἑλῶν. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence πῶτα. Him the overseer of their buying and selling, hence Ἀγροῦ. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their houses, hence Jupiter Hercens, from Ἑρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. Phœverinus. Ἑρκίος. Διὸς βασιλῆς ἔξω τοῦ οἴκου τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδελφῶν ἢ ἀκνόν, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. Aristoph. Διὸς οἴκου τῶν ἑρκῶν. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which <sup>c</sup> Ovid. -- Ante ades stabat Jovis Hospitis ara, hence Jupiter Xenius, as if he were the God of strangers and hospitallity. So solemne were they in their entertainements, that

i Eustath. in Il.  
s.

k Pag. 27. Eur.  
Eustath. saies  
that they did  
yet salt before  
any other meat  
to stingers.

l Densoth. p.

241.

m Tzetzes in  
Lycoph. p. 28.

n Cic. de A-

micitia. Eu-

stath. saies

that it beco-

mons more per-

salt preserves

And as it is

made of many

lettings in of

water, so they

who come from

divers places by

hospitality are

made one.

In il. 2. p. 100.

o In Acharn.

p. 414. vide

Sch.

p Eustath. in

Il. 2.

q Eurip. Sch.

p. 446.

a. As πολῆς.

Aristophan.

ὁμοῖα.

Paulan. &c.

d Aristophan.

αλ. p. 86.

that they would not receive a stranger without great cere-  
monies, such as giving of the right hand each to other *ἡσυχίᾳ*  
*ως διασπών*, a most certaine signe of fidelity, and security, as  
also washing and cleansing with salt, or salt water, as *Tzet-*  
*zes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called *ἐνὶ σάλει*. Salt they  
highly esteemed of, ever ubraiding violated hospitality with  
*πῶς ἄλλος*, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought  
to be said of the community of the table *ἢ ἐδωκεν ἑκατέρω*  
*μὴ κακὸν εἶναι τὸν συνοφθαλμὸν καὶ συνελπίαν*, customes shewing that  
fellow commoners, and such as feed of the same table must  
not injure one another, to which the old saying may well a-  
gree, *multos modios sales simul edendos esse, ut amicitie munus*  
*expletum sit*, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, be-  
fore they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is  
not to be soone established. But I take salt, of the illustration,  
to which also they added fire, as you may see in *o Aristophanes*.  
Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling  
*Jupiter* to witnesse, and using these words in the time of sacri-  
fice. *πῆ εἰς Δία ἔβην ἀμαρτῆν, εἰ ἀπορῶ ἔβην*. Let my trespassse  
be against *Jupiter Xenius*, if I offend, contemne, or neglect stran-  
gers. And for the continuation of this even to their posterity  
they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie  
keeping one piece, the other party the other halfe, that when  
occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in  
need of other, *καὶ παρῆσαντο τὸ ἡμῶν ἀσπιδάριον, ἀναρεῖναι τὴν ἑ-*  
*κίαν*, bringing with them their halfe hucklebone they might re-  
new their hospitality. This they call *σύμβολον* *Symbolum* a to-  
ken, which sometimes they would send to their acquain-  
tance in others behalfe, as *Jason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea*  
to doe. *ἵλεταιν πῆξιν οἱς σύμβολ' εἰ δ' ἐχ' ἄντι' ο' δ' δ'*. And to send a  
*Symbolum* or token to strangers that shall courteously enter-  
taine you. But of this enough, as also of *Jupiter*, whom cele-  
brated in another Epithites I know by the Athenians. *Apello*  
was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in danger or sudden  
events, hence *ἀποστρέφω* *apostrophos*, from *ἀποστρέφω*, to turn away, as if  
he

he should deliver them from eminent evill, for which reason  
 he is called *Alixicaeus*, & *Apollinem aspicientem mala intelli-*  
*git, quoniam Athenienses* *Ἀλιξικαῖος* appellant. He was one of the  
 first Gods they had, hence is he termed *Διὸς πατήρ*, but others  
 think because he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrob.* is of o-  
 pinion, because the *Sun* the same with *Apollo* is the Author  
 of progenerating all things, *quod sol humoribus exsiccatis pro-*  
*generandis omnibus prebuit causam.* To him wood Altars in  
 their streets, hence is he *ἄγχις*, as if he were set over their  
 waies g *Illienim vias, quae intra pomeria sunt, ἄγχις.* This *A-*  
*χίς* was a sharp pillar. b *κίον γὰρ ἄχίς ὡς δὲ λίθον.* Al-  
 though the *Greeks*, as i *Macrob.* saies, did worship him as  
*ἑσπερίαν, exitum & intrinsecus potentem*, one that kept the dores  
 of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in  
*Pausanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Paean*, of which  
 though I have taken occasion to speak elsewhere, yet this is  
 a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial  
 derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in k *Athenens.*  
 When the *Athenians* asked help of the Oracle at *Delphos*  
 against the *Amazons*, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid  
 them implore his succor in these words *ἰεὺς Παιων.* I *Hanc vo-*  
*cam, id est, ἰεὺς Παιων, confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum A-*  
*theniensibus, potentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo*  
*regnante. Namque inituros bellum iussit his ipsis verbis semitip-*  
*sum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the  
 words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the  
 ancient *Jo Paan*. *Paan* saies the m *Scholiast* of *Aristophan.* s m  
 is a song or hymme praying for the ceasing of a plague, or  
 war, nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of  
*Jo m Scaliger* hath already found, *Jo*, & *Jo* being contracted  
 by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*, *Paan* then comes from *Παν* to look,  
 so that *Jo Paan* is in force *Jehova Panch.* LORD LOOKE  
 upon us, it being a craft of the Di velt to come as neere as  
 possibly he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare ho-  
 nour, if he could. The remnants of these words the o *Symon* s

c *Macrob. Sat.*  
 i. p. 253.  
 d *Aristoph.*  
 Nub. p. 203.  
 e *Aristop. Sch.*  
 p. 611 g.  
 f *Satur.* i. p. 257.  
 g *Macrob.*  
 Sat. i. c. 9.  
 h *Schol Eurip.*  
 Phry. p. 322.  
 i *Sat.* i. c. 2.

k *In fin. lib. 14.*  
 Dip.  
 l *Macrob. Sat. l.*  
 i. c. 17. p. 253.

m *In Plut. p. 68.*  
 n *Græc. Tiag.*

o *Vide Sir*  
*Fr. Drake.*

- a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing *Yó Pebo*, at this day. *Mercury* is halloved by the name of  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , deemed to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed  $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , *Very profitable*, from  $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron$ , an augmenting word, and  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron$  to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the Market place called  $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Ἀγορᾶς}$ . The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named  $\Pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , as likewise  $\Sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  from  $\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron$ , to turne, because he was set up behind the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*
- p* Aristop.  $\pi\lambda$ . p. 110. Ach. p. 410.
- q* Aristop. *Eup.* p. 266.
- a* Aristop. 304
- b* Pauf. p. 20. 135.
- c* Pag. 110.

## CAP. III.

*De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte,  
Hercule. ἀνάντες.*

- S* *Aturne* was worshipped by the *Athenians*, witnesse the feasts kept in honour to him called  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\omicron$ , witnesse a  $\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  ple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He seemes to have been of old, as I conjecture out of  $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , *Saturnina anima*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which *Demosthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, as I gather out of *g Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this Citie, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for securitie in navigation, hence  $\eta\ \text{Ἀρὰ}$ . *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dreame appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the sacriledge of one who had stolen a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore *Mivmhis* or *Index Hercules*, as *Tully*. Neither
- a* Pauf. p. 16. 132.
- e* Aristop.  $\omega\lambda$ . p. 61.
- f* P. 536. n. 26.
- g*  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\epsilon\phi\varsigma$   $\text{Ἀττ.}$
- h* Aristop. p. 403.
- i* Pauf. p. 7. 1. 27.
- k* De divinatione, l. 1.

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonized more daily, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἀνακτες. κ ἀνακὼς ὅς ἔχει τὸ ἐπιμελεῖν τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὄντα ὡς τὸ βασιλεὺς ἵστος ἀνακται διὰ τὸ το καλεῖται. *Plut. Thes. p. 11. l. 25.* For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently observe it ἀνακὼς ἔχει. For which Kings perhaps are called ἀνακται, as keepers of their people. *m In Hippod. p. 507.* The Scholiast of *Euripi.* *a Iliad. α.* teaches us that ἀναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be ἀναξ Κυλλήνιος, the Tutelar God of *Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in *Hom.* ἡγεῖται τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The word is simply put for God in *Aristophanes*, π τὸ ἄν θεὸς ἀνακται καὶ Σωτῆρες κα- *p Eurip. Sch. p. 507.* λῶται. To these may be put *Harmonius* and *Aristogiton*. *Ly-q In Athen.* *cui. Thesens.* *Alon Hefychius.* *Aristomachus* the Phisitian. *e tr. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.* *Celeus* and *Mitanira*. And many more (of whom see *q Me-* *r Plut. in. Th.* *ursius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrhasius* that made the statue of *r Thesens.* *p. 2. l. 14.*

CAP. IV.

*De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumeni-*  
*dibus, Hecate, Junone, Promethio, &c.*

**M***inerva* the especiall deity of the *Athenians*, had the *In Panath.* Festivals called *Panathenaea*, of which you may fully *b In Panath.* read in *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose *Nonnus ad* rites *longe maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur,* *Naz. 502.* saies *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore cal- *c Vide Plut. in* led *mysteria* from *μυστα*, to hide; death and a curse lying *Alcib.* on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *d Cap. 7.* *Meursius* in his *d Elenfinia*, of the initiation into these stews. *e Aristop. Sch.* They were of two sorts. *e Greater to Ceres, lesse to Proser-* *p. 85.* *pina.* *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted *f Arist. p. 222.* and a double tide holy to him. *Dionysia* *parva* and *g Magna.* *g Idem. p. 123.* *Venus* had her honour and sacrifice, in which they offered to *b Clem. Alex.* her money the price of an whore. *i Eumenides* were first a- *p. 19.* *i Vide Esch.* *Sch. Sophan.* *Oed. Col.*

dored by *Oristes* after he escaped the Judgment at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σειναι θεαι, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a custome peculiar to them alone, as *m* *Æschylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that *n* *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nictelius*. But the Tragedian.

† In Theogonia.

† Pauf. p. 17 l. 3.

m In Eumen. p.

275.

n Aristop.

p 228.

o Loco citato.

ο δὲ νεκρῶν δειπνᾷ ἐν ἑσπέρῃ ποτίζῃ

ἔδωκεν ἑσπέρῃ ἐσθλὴν καὶ οἶον.

p In Oedipo.

Col. p. 271.

Scholiast: ἐπεὶ τὸ μυστήριον αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ θ. By *P* *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set down. First having cleane hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed *τριεὶς μελισσώματα*) the mouthes and eares of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep, turning himselfe towards the East, he powdered some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his *χεῖρ*, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken.

q Æschylus lo-

co praxd.

r Vide Interp.

Hor. in illud

Diva trifo mis.

s Aristop. Sch.

p. 63.

t Pag. 64.

u In Orat.

ἑρως κέρως.

p. 693. n 59.

\* In Nubes.

p. 176.

x In Plut. 63.

† *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *triviiis*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moon in Heavens: *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. † To her the richer sort every new Moone made a feast in the crosse waies setting bread and other provision, which the poore greedily fed on, and were so ravinous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatch it, before it could be laid downe. Reference to this hath *ἑρῶτα καπνίσαν*, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in *u* *Demisthenes*, which he seemes to object, as a sordid or wicked thing. Indeed *σωμαλῆς*, which signifies one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the altar, imports some times *impious*, *βυμολόχος ἀσεβής*. Schol. \* *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. x *ἄνδρες ἱερῶν γὰρ ἐν ὧν ἔστι ζῶν.* *Junones* rites were



were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that Ἡραίων βασιλευς, *Junonium incedere*, is to go state. *Prometheus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which superstitiously they beleevd him to have stolne out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needlesse either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introduced by the *Philippides*, and \* *Σφραγιδίς Νύμφα*. *Sphragitides Nympha* after the *Persian* overthrow.

a Vide Schor-  
tum In Proverb.  
Isaac. Cantab. in  
Athen. l. 12. c.  
5. p. 389.  
b Cl. Alex. p. 22.  
\* Plut. Arist.  
p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνδρώων. Εἰμαῖ. *Phacassiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called θεοὶ ἀνδρώων, because they were exposed to the Sunne. Neither had they these alone, but certaine others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Herma Mercurials*. The fashion of them was divers. For first they were not ἀνταυνοί, *porrecto veretro*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelagis* as *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legs, untill the *Athenians* made them ἀκόλως, according to *Pausanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury* set upon a pillar of four corners. The head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, & *Juvenal*,

c Vide Hesy-  
chium, & Di-  
onysium Peta-  
vium in The-  
mistium,  
d In Euterpe  
p. 48.  
e In Atticis  
d. 2. l. 14.  
f Sat. v. 852.  
g Vide Ulpian.  
in Dem. p. 332.  
& G. Langbain  
in Notis ad  
Longinum.  
αἰὲς ὕψος.

*Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque simillimus Herma.*

*Nulla quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod*

*Illis marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.*

For which reason likewise the *Greekes* name them γάρυδες, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verses engraven, containing the praises of some well deserving



men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seeme to me to have been set up in that gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly knowne by *ἑρμῶν Στοά* the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, and sacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence *χί-στρος ἱσφύδατος* may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. *h Aristophanes. χίστρον σίτῃ, ἀστρον ὑμῶν Εἰσίδιον; Schol. Εἰσίδιον, ἀστὴν τὴν ἐν ὠκυμένῃ. in Pace.* Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to adde something of the forme of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive then bestow any thing. To which *Aristophanes* alludes, saying, -- *ὅτι δὲ θεοὶ. Ἰνδοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς χερσὶν τὴν ἀνέμωσαν. Ὅταν γὰρ ἐκζητοῦμεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τινα δῶκεν. Ἐπαινοῦνται οὕτως ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν τίνα. Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀνέμωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι ἀπέμωσαν. Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would send down nothing, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise that these idols were clothed, is no news doubtlesse to one meanly versed in the Greeke antiquities. To say that they weare shooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Δῖι Phæcastani*, from *φακάστει*, a kind of low shooes which the *Athenians* call'd *κορίσσοδες* from *κόνη*, dust, and *τῆς*, the foot, because they were neare the ground. *διὰ τὸ πελάζειν* *mut. ἀπὸ τῆς κοῦρῃ τὸ πόδι, saies* *b Clemens Alexandrinus.* But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their

*h* Pag. 693.

*a* Concion. p. 747.

*b* Pæd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

*c* Sat. 3. v. 217. feet. *c Juvenal.*

*Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polyctæ  
Phæcastonorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

Long since were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies <sup>d</sup> a worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended. Purification after fearfull dreames, in *Aristophanes* ονιεγν ἀποκαύζειν. In which sense some understand *Persius*: Noctem flumine purgare. Wearing of rings against witchcraft as a spell, called ἰδρυπιδίαι σαρμακίταις. <sup>g</sup> Spitting into their bosomes thrice at the sight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, πῆδε αἰς ἰὺν ἔψυτα κόλπων. I knowe not whether the custome of our sillie people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Divell. Certaine it is that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence ψύειν is put for καταρκεῖν and ἐναντί λόγῳ τθέειν to contemne or set little by, as the <sup>h</sup> Scholiast of *Sophocles* on these words, πτότας ἀσείδω. Washing with water the head as often as he shall goe into the streets καὶ κεφαλῆς λούσας; *Theophrastus*. Anointing of stones, <sup>i</sup> Charact. divers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἐρακες. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulness by <sup>k</sup> *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he tooke the stone that he put for his pillowes, and set it up, and powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a <sup>a</sup> black dog into their houses, Serpents seen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, saies *Theophrastus*, of which <sup>a</sup> *TERENCE*. In Phor. Ac. Introit in ades ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit. Put to these a <sup>b</sup> Cat or Weesel (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the Moue eating his salt bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whose clothes the Rats or Mice shall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he shall have great ill betide him

<sup>d</sup> Denat. in Ter. p. 67.  
<sup>e</sup> Ranis p. 274.  
vide & Æsch. in Persis.

<sup>f</sup> Aristop. Pl. p. 88. f.  
<sup>g</sup> Theoph. Ch. p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Antigonem.

<sup>i</sup> Charact.

<sup>k</sup> Gen. 28.18.

<sup>a</sup> In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.

<sup>b</sup> γαλῆ.  
<sup>Theoph.</sup>

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of polluting Antiquity was of opinion that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chœmnitius* hath observed, and *c Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the standing upon a grave was great religion; *επιβῆαι μνήμας*. Furthermore observing of daies good and bad, of which *d Hesiod*, *ἀνὰ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν* me, that one is a stepdame another a mother. *e* Amazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the *f* Moone; not knowing the reason, why she did loose her light, at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristophanes*. *ἐκὺς δὲ καὶ ἀνιστάμεθα*. Of the vertue I speak nought. *g Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Joine to this the sneezing over the right shoulder or the right side, *h παρὰ δεξιὰ δεικνύει*. Observation of *Διόρυτοις*, or sudden stormes, as the *i Sch.* of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. *k* Cutting off their haire, and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephisus*. Marking the flight of the owle, whence came the Proverb, *l γλαῦξ δειπνᾷ*, *The Owle hath fed*. And *γλαῦξ ἐπιπᾶται* for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m ἡ πᾶσις τῆς γλαυκῆς νίκης σμβολὴ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐπομίζετο*. They ever accounting it so, since the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana*. *ἐν Σαλαμῇ, ὅτε ταῦτις διεμάχοντο θαρσύνοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἑκαυτέρους ἐνίκησαν*. Other madnesse of theirs was sleeping in the *n* Temple of *Æsculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the deity to give, or shew them a remedy, *o* for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I mistake not. What shall I say of *p* putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greek is *πενίδιον* may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heronn*; And punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distra-

*c* In *Hip.* p. 602. wide etiam Eustarb. in

*IA π.*

*d* ἐν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
ἡν.

*e* *Plut.* Pericle p. 123. l. 35.

*f* *Plut.* Nicia. p. 392. l. 21.

*g* Lib. 4. c. 11.

*h* *Plut.* Them p. 85. l. 23.

*i* In *Ach.* p. 379. & p. 424.

*k* *Paul.* Att. p. 35. l. 31. wide Eust. in *II. B.*

*l* *Aristop.* Vesp. p. 508.

*m* *Zenobius*,

*n* *Aristop.* pp.

44 66. l. 438.

*o* *Petronius*.

*p* *Allian.*

*πενί.*

l. 5. c. 17.



l. Aesch. loco.  
citato.

a In Anap. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr.  
initio.  
c Ovid. Fast.

d Sch. Aristop.  
loco citato.

Nonnus in  
Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Vesp. pag.  
503.  
h lb. p. 502.

Ovid, *caesumque caput reperitur in extis*. Οὐρανὸν, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, ἰοχρῶτά σπινάρια, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtless had they ways of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Εἰδιδόν, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, Aeschylus terms them νεδίσ σπινάρια, Sch. τοὺ ἐξ ὅ παντὶ τῶας. See Scaliger in Tibullum, on these words, Puer ἐ trivii. The Scholiast of a Aristophanes on ἐνυχοῖον ὄρνιν, They made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation, which b Sophocles calls ἐνδύμας καὶ ἐνερτίδης, wishing luck, as χαίτε among the Greeks, and the Latines c *Esto bonis avibus visus*, &c. Σομφόρον is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but sacred to d Ceres, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζήσεας, which we imitate in our *God help you*, as often as we see any Man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by Casaubon on Athenæus. Οἰκοζωτικὸν καὶ, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the Houie, or when the Oyl cruse is dry, Honey, Wine, Water is spent, to guess at future things. Of this e Xenocrates wrote. Χαιροῖται πικρὸν, Palmitry, when by the length of the Hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in House-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which f Helenus once left a Monument. Παρρησιάζον, gathered out of the shaking of the parts of the Body, as the shoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde Posidonius was an Author exposed to the World. Εὐραστειάζον, as that wherein the Witch of Endor was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose Belly the Devil spake. The first that practiced this among the Athenians was Eurycles, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖς, Euryclise, as the g Schol. of Arist. ph. who calls this Art h Εὐρυκλεῖς μαγεία, the Divining of Euryclis. Νεμῶνα, fields, where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the souls

souls of the deceased, demanding of them what them what afterward  
 should befall. As *Wierus*. And no wonder, for they held  
 the Spirits of their parents and kindred for Gods, *quibus sacri-*  
*ficiant* (says *Buain*) & *ad quorum sepulchra comedebant, in*  
*quis scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comederant sa-*  
*cificia mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose se-  
 pulchres they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing and  
 detesteth, speaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead*. Of  
 this *Aristophanes* makes mention, and *Hom* in his *Odysses*.  
 This is that which most properly is called *μαγία* from *μα*  
 lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ exccrationes*, & for with  
 great mourning they invoked *απομνῆσται δαιμόναι*, wicked  
 Gods for the accomplishment of their diabolish designs. It  
 may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia*, b for so the  
 Wicards divide them into the black and white Magick. *Ma-*  
*gia*, from whence the word Magick is derived, seemes to  
 have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests  
 were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as *Laertius* is wit-  
 ness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. *ε ε πικλοῖς ἐστ*  
*δυνάμιν ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθὴν τινὲν εὐχασιν εὐμμεκέτα*, is a gi-  
 ving of *Philtrum*, a Medicine for the procurement of Love,  
 or rather enraging of Lust, by bewitching something and gi-  
 ving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is cre-  
 dibly reported. *κοττιρομαντία*, Tricks with a pair of Sheers  
 and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. *† Ἀζινμαντία*. To take coun-  
 sel of an Hatchet, taking it and laying it on a piece of Tim-  
 ber flat-ways, which did the feat by turning round. Like to  
 which is that naughty use of a Key and Bible. *Ἀσπασινμαντία*,  
 by the casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Chil-  
 dren, Farms, &c. which answer to the quantity of the  
 chance. *μαλισταμαντία* & *ἀλυσμαντία*, done by Corn, h *Αε-*  
*βυσμαντία*, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two  
 were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conquest, As  
 they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*, *Οπισθεναν-*  
*τία*, making a circle, they divided it into four & twenty parts,

i De Mag's  
Inf 1, 2, c. 11.  
† Demonoma-  
nia, i, 2, c. 3.

In Avib.  
p. 613. a.  
m Lib. 2.  
a Nonn. in  
Naz.

*b* Vide Bodin.

c Vide Non.  
d In Proam.  
e Nonnus.

\* *f* Vide Odyf.

g Vide Theo-  
crit. in Phar.  
h Delrio. Dif-  
f. qui. Mag. l. 4.  
c. 2. q. 5. sec. 7.

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands &c. *Σοφιστ. 717.* opening a book of *Homer* and by the first verse that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who so foretold it, meeting with that verse of *Homer*, which speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Theſſaly*. *ἰ Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* and because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publique causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphica*, for foretelling or divination. <sup>a</sup> I know the ſhe Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word <sup>b</sup> *ἰατρον* at this time read for Soothſaying, was anciently called *ματινὴ* madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery, is as clear as day, the <sup>c</sup> Scholiast of *Euripides* testifying, done it seems in matters of question, so *καὶ ἵσταν δὲ γὰρ* may intimate as much as to undergoe trial. Predictions there were, <sup>d</sup> ſaith *Enſtath*, out of signes and wonders, as also of the noise that leaves makes when they are burned. To which some adde *ἀπομαντρία* or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

<sup>i</sup> Wierde Mithras Inſtit. 2. c. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Vide Sch. Ariston Plut. b Aristid. T. 3 pag. 25.

<sup>c</sup> In Hippol. p. 80.

<sup>d</sup> In Ilap. 36.

## C A P. V I I.

### De Templis & Aſylis.

**T**heir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, *ναὸς*, or *ἱεὸν*. And sacred to their Demi-gods most properly *ναὸν*. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first



first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice  
 to the honour of the deceased. *εὐσεβείας ἐνομαζομένης*,  
*καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ τεύχους τοῦ ἐπιτελεσμένης.* *Cecrops* <sup>e Vide. p.22.</sup>  
 buried in the *Acropolis*, *Eriethonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*,  
*Pellus*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Elenus*, &c. They were  
 divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called  
*ἡ ἁγία ὕδατος*, the other *ἡ κοινή*. <sup>f Casaubon</sup> tells us that *ἡ ἁγία* <sup>In Theop. Charact.</sup>  
*ὔδατος* was that holy water set at the dore of the Temple, with  
 which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled  
 himself, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of  
 which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it  
 stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not  
 lawful for any but the Priests to come. The <sup>g Schol. of Sopho-</sup>  
*cles* thus describes the Church. *Ναὸς*, quoth he, is the place  
 where the Altar stands. *Βωμὸς*, the Altar on which they offered  
 their oblations, *Τέλειον*, where they placed the Idol which  
 they worshipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, <sup>h Clemens</sup>  
*Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia*, after-  
 ward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first  
 named, <sup>b ξύλον</sup>, *διὰ τὸ διεξέρχαι τὸ ἔλκος*, from the shaving of it; <sup>b Idem.</sup>  
 but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a  
 man, they termed it *ἑρπύς*, from *ἑρπύς mortalis*, whose shape  
 it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies:  
 That a Woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture,  
 should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beanes,  
 pease, and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulnesse for  
 their first food, <sup>c ἐὺχαριστήρια σπονδαίους τὸ ἑρπύς διαίτης.</sup> For  
 as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where  
 this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the *ἱεὺς* or  
*ναὸς*, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered,  
 their gesture towards it. *ἀνατὰς ἡ δὲ διεξέρχουσα, ἀγῶνα, ἑ-*  
*στα, ἐν τῷ ναῷ, &c.* Furthermore belonging to their Temples  
 there was a kind of Vellry, in Greek *ἀρχαῖον* by some trans-  
 lated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This  
 seems to have been a Treasurie both for the Church, and any

e Laetius in  
vita. p. 122  
vide ad eum lo-  
cum Caf.

any ſoever, who fearing the ſecurity of his wealth, would commit it to the cuſtody of the Prielt, as <sup>e</sup> *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Ephejus*. *Martial* points at this, when he ſays,

*Templa vel arcano demens ſpoliaverat auro.*

So reverently did they eſteem of theſe Houſes of their Gods, that to do thoſe offices of Nature, I mean, venting of Excrements too ſhameleſſy ſeen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, puniſhed ſeverely by *Piſiſtratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Aſtick* Ground had brought forth, they ſo hated him for that Taxation, as they made the *epineuſia* of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redreſſed. And yet ſo ſecretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, ſave at laſt one Stranger, whom he cauſed to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence, to a man that ſoundly ſmarted for his wickedneſs they were wont proverbially to ſay, *He had better have eaſed himſelf in the Pytheum*; or if there were more, in the plural number. *Καὶ ἴθι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν Πυθίᾳ ἀπὸ παλαιῶν*. Nay ſo honorable held they theſe Churches, that to them they granted privilege of Sanctuary, to which who ſhould fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a Treſpaſs upon Religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theſeus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, a whoſe Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the miſt thereof ſhe had a Grove. <sup>b</sup> The firſt *Aſylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heracleide*.

a Vid. Roſſin.  
b Polyd. Virg.  
in Eurip. they  
are preſented ſit-  
ting near the  
Altar. T. 2. p.  
472.



b Memfius E-  
leusin, in c. 13.

c In Stel. 1.  
p. 3.

d L. Montac.  
of Chichester.

e In Alexaph.  
p. 144.

f Aristop. Sc.  
p. 125.

g T. 2. p. 621.

h In Politic.

i In Plat. p. 7.  
k Casaub. In  
Theoph.

l Arist. p. 481.

m Arist. p. 101.

n In Plat. p. 71.

same with *b* *Iacobi*, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a year compleat, permitted to see their Bible) *c* *Schol. Naz. Iacobi* *ἐκείνη ἡ ἐκείνη*. *Hierophanta* is called from *ἱερός* *ἵερος*, opening the holy things. *ἱερίων ἱεροῦ*. *d* The Learned Bishop, upon the place of *Nacianzen*, notes that *M* (as among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to doe in those sacred busineses. *ὁ δὲ* *ἐπὶ*, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in warre and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say *ὁ δὲ* *ἐπὶ*, *Ne ignisfer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. *ἱεροῦ*, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, tenne in number. *Νεωκόροι* whom *e* *Nicanor* calls *ἱεροῦ* from *ἱερός*, *ὁ δὲ* *ἐπὶ*, to be decent, because they kept the Temples clean, and swept them as, *Ion* in *g* *Euripides* speaks. These were the *ἱεροῦ*, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies *b* *Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out should be restored again. *ἱεροῦ* in *i* *Aristophanes* likewise termed *ἱεροῦ*. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, & whose prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skinnes, as the *m* *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being Tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to *n* *Aristoph.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function that they who undertook it should be found both wind and limb, they being asked *ἱεροῦ* before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremonie to have been used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours,

neighbours wives bearing record, saies <sup>a</sup> *Christianus*, that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutuum*. There were moreover shee Priests as the *Bzaiatara*, in *Demosthenes*, & the *καρυδοεγες* whom in all things <sup>b</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

C A P. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophie is of opinion that Sacrifices first began after the ancients had ended their harvelt. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollitie. In which they offered their first fruits called *ἀπαρχαί*, from whence *ἀπαρχαί* is read generally to doe any sacrifice. Neither doth *ἀπαρχαί* import lesse. For *εὖ* signifies the bend, or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvelt threshed and winnowed; *ἀρχαί*, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, the first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they should be *καεῖται ἱεροῖς*, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purifie themselves some certaine daies before, *καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἀγεῖν θύματα*, the number of them is not set down. I take here to abstain from carnall delights, *Tibull - Discede ab aris Quos tulit hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus* To which purpose *Tibull* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to sacrifice answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

H

with

<sup>a</sup> In *Aristot.*

<sup>b</sup> *Antiq.* l. 2. n. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Schol. Eur. in *Phoen.* p. 221.

<sup>d</sup> *Plur.* p. 65 l. 26. they called their lean sacrifices *καεῖται* *ἱεροῖς*. *καεῖται* and *καίει*, as if aught else, *Arist.* p. 5. 4. *Demosth.* pp. 400. 476.

f In pace. p.  
695.

g Ia. a. with  
these ἑλοχόμενοι  
the Greeks every  
began sacrifice,  
the Romans Fat,  
Dionys. Halic.  
l. 2. n. 4.

h Loco laud.

i Athen. l. 9. p.  
p. 409.

a Sophocles

Oed Tyr.

b Aristoph. p.

c Ia. a. d. 2.

d Ia. a. d. 2.

\* Mnfia.

e In Stel.

f Eustath. p.

101. Ia.

g Loco laud.

with flower and salt, in f *Aristophanes* ἑλοχόμενοι in g *Homer* ἑλοχόμενοι with which they cut the throat of the *victim*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. h *Aristophanes*. Περιῖθι τὸ βωμὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνὶ δεξιᾷ. This lustration was made with meal and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called i *χένρι* in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of clensing. (Hence a *χένρι* βας νόμιον was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue.) Then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out b *Τίς ἐστὶ; ὅς ἐστι;* Who is here, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ κῆρα δέει. Many and good. Then they prayed. c *Homer*. Εξήϊς ἔσπον ἑὸς δμῶν περὶ βωμῶν. Χένρι δ' αὖτο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ἑλοχόμενοι ἀνέβητο, Τόττεν δ' Χούσης μεγαλὸν δόχον χεῖρας ἀνασχόν. Among the latter they spake with a loud voice *ευχαίμεθα*, before they began. Let us pray. Supplications ended they drew the victim so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might looke upwards, which d *Homer*, αὐτὸ ἵπνεν. Eust. οὐ μὲν τοῖς ἀνέμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ σὺν ἱερείῃ πρὸς ἄνω, ὥστε αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰς τὸ ἄνω. If it were to the Heroes or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, & cutting out the \* huck shins and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called *κνίσση* (hence the God of the heathen are deciphered by e *Naxsianzen*, κνίσση χεῖροντι, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. f *ὡς δὲ σπονδὴ ἑλοχόμενοι* ἡδὲ καὶ τὸν κνίσση καὶ τὸν καταρλεχθόντι πυρὶ. For the Grecians accounted so unluckie if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not κνίσση upon the κνίσση they cast small peeces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek *ὠμῶς*) hence this is called *ὠμῶδες*. The reason *Eustathius* gives, g *ὡς δοκεῖν καὶ τὸν πᾶντος, ὅλα ὕτω τὰ μέρη τῇ ἱερείᾳ καρτῆσαι*, that they might seem to consume all, which the Athenians did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

reason of which injunction, they did so strain curtesy of their Gods, that the illiberall or niggardly sort of people would feel that which was left, and so make gaine of their devotion. <sup>h</sup> <sup>Th. Charac.</sup> <sup>μὲν ἱερὰ πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα</sup> saies *Theophrastus*. <sup>οὐδὲ ἀρελιδόριον</sup> Where *Causabon* notes, *Coxam* ferè *offerebant*, *aut intestina*, <sup>πικρὰ</sup> *aut aliud non magni rei persæp.* They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to understand the spleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls *πλάγχνα*, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sense we say *ἡ Τρασύχνη*, a pusillanimous man, & *εὐπλάγχνη* a couragious as the *Scholias*t of *Sophocles* teaches us, & so *πλάγχνα* *ἐλεός* the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reines loose to all manner of voluptuousnesse, gluttony, and drunkennesse. For oft times they left nothing of their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb, *Εἰς θύειν*, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publickly they begun to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove, but that they did so is plaine. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once *Αὐτοῖς ἀρχαῖαι* to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on *Aristophanes*. As <sup>b</sup> Vide p. 582. for their meat offerings it was required that they should be sound and without blemish, whether it were an ox, sheep, <sup>c</sup> vide Pollucem goat, swine, calfe: to sacrifice they simply termed *ἱεῖν* which <sup>d</sup> In Bucolicis. our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. *Virgil*, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molas*, which the Greekes call *εὐλάνη* <sup>e</sup> *Causab.* in *uata meale*, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and <sup>f</sup> Theop. p. 237. wine, as the *Scholias*t of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy in- <sup>g</sup> Pag. 701. fested of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set apart, as *Demosthenes*. In <sup>g</sup> Pag. 378. their



b Schol. Arist.  
P. 304.

their oblations the *μαῖζαι* or cookes gave them 10 part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀνελάττω κολία, put for ἐσία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. Aristop. on ἀνελάττωτες ἦν θιάς ἱεράς ἐχόντα κολίας. Εἴς τις ὃ εἶχεν τὰς δεκάτας ἦν θυοῦντων τοῖς Πρυτανέσιν ἡ μαῖζαισι δίδοναι. Δίον ὃ ἐστὶν ἀνελάττωτον ἐχόντα ἐσίαν, &c.

## CAP. X.

## De Anno Attico.

a De Doct.  
Temp. l. i. c. 1.

THE ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred & sixtie daies, each moneth consisting of thirtie. Rude antiquity ignorant of celestially contemplations, deeming the Moone to finish her course in that space. Which according to <sup>a</sup> *Petavius* seemes false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus mensis tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soone found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetractetis*, in which when they found seaven daies deficient, they supplied them by adding \* 2 to every end of the year, called ἀπαραίτητοι, <sup>b</sup> *eo quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant.* Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two <sup>c</sup> *ἡμετέρας*, in respect of the Olympick games, ever kept in the Olympick games, ever kept in the \* full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetractetis* with a new Moone. Neverthelesse the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetractetis*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the course might still returne the same. This all *Greece* observed, saies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed *μυσήαια*, by the people of *Etis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandfaires of *Greece*, is

\* Negar Peti-  
tus M. fecit. l. 3.  
p. 192. Petav.  
affirmat  
b M Selden.  
in Appar. ad  
Græco Epoch  
Chro.  
\* id est, The  
fifteenth day  
c De D. Tem.  
T. l. p. 4.

not truly known, by <sup>d</sup> *Petitus* delivered to be of D: 347. eve-<sup>d</sup> Eclog. Chr.  
ry Month 29 D: except one, which like our February had but <sup>p 225. Petav.</sup>  
28 D: Every two years one Moneth was inserted: once of <sup>goes not so</sup>  
29 D: another time of 28 D: But because in two years this <sup>home. L. b. de</sup>  
<sup>\* magnus annus</sup> surpassed the Moon 15 D: it <sup>doct. Temp.</sup> *aque Tetract. rida* <sup>i. c. 6.</sup>  
feccrunt. This consisted of 1445 D: 723 & 722 make 1445. So <sup>\* each of these</sup>  
many daies 354. foure times doubled hath, if you please to <sup>two yeares se-</sup>  
adjoyne 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understaud <sup>terially taken</sup>  
*Geminus*. Τὰς μὲν τετρακονταεπίς ἡν, καὶ ἡ ἑμβομένης πε-<sup>was called ver-</sup>  
νταυτῶν. That must be fitly understood, quoth he, for they did <sup>ans, joined</sup>  
number the moneths as if they were 30 D: when notwithstan-<sup>annus mag-</sup>  
ding they had but 29. <sup>g</sup> *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who <sup>nus.</sup>  
takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. in that sense, as meaning <sup>e Loco laud.</sup>  
29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to <sup>/ Eiem. Astro.</sup>  
*Geminus* you may account 29. <sup>i. 33.</sup> and *Ulpian*, <sup>i. c. 8. p. 26.</sup> *εικοσινία* <sup>In Auctario</sup>  
*ἡμερῶν* 29. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a <sup>b Loco citato</sup>  
Moneth was supposed 29 D. <sup>k</sup> *Theon*. Μῶνα ἡ ἀέριον, τὸν ὅτι <sup>i In Arg O-</sup>  
συνὸν Σελήνης ἡ ἡμέρας ἑσπέρων ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμερῶν καὶ <sup>rat, contra</sup>  
Bnt that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, <sup>Aud. p 340.</sup>  
*Ἐπὶ ἡ ἡμέρας πέντε* *Canōdan* ἡμέρας ἀλλή, τὸ ἐν τὴν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας  
*ἡμέρας*. τὸτὸ ἡ πᾶσι μὲν ἡμέρας πέντε, τὸτὸ ἡ πᾶσι πᾶσι πᾶσι  
*ἡμέρας* καὶ τὸν ἡ πᾶσι πᾶσι πᾶσι *ἡμέρας*. He means a day  
the space of a night and a day, for according to such *Moneths*  
did they administer their civil affaires. And now it is in re-<sup>g</sup> *Geminus* p.  
quest among many of the Greekes. But of this enough. Soone <sup>28. U Tom 1</sup>  
was the *Tetract. ris* found faulty; therefore was made a Ka-<sup>f</sup> *Tom. Not ig-*  
lender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the dif-<sup>norant that</sup>  
ference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D: made up three Months, <sup>Meren was</sup>  
inserted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the scruples <sup>the first that</sup>  
comming short in sixteen years 3 D: they intercalated <sup>made the Ci-</sup>  
three. And seeing stil they could not make it even. <sup>cle of 19.</sup>  
*Enclimen* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years, <sup>yeares. Hence</sup>  
which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Moneths 640. of <sup>Mēτων ἐν-</sup>  
them 28. *ἡμέρας*, ἢ ἡ πᾶσι ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἡμέρας <sup>αυτῶν. Me-</sup>  
laies *Geminus*. This was the progresse of their reformation. <sup>consueve is</sup>  
<sup>put for a long</sup>  
<sup>time & oze</sup>  
<sup>bully.</sup>

b Then were  
all the months  
of 30 D. as you  
may see in Schol.  
Aristop. Achar.  
P. 412. c.

c Geni. p. 32.  
d Laertius in  
vita.  
e Pollux l. 1.

f Petit. Eccl.  
Chro. p. 215.

a In Διοσμή.  
p. 78.  
b In Antigon.  
p. 213.  
c In Aratum  
p. 78.  
d In Oedipo  
Tyran. p. 183.  
e In vita pag.  
66. l. 15.  
f Plutarch.

g Laert. in vit.

But we must look back againe and consider that they counted their yeare two waies. First of <sup>b</sup>CCCLX, as hath been already spoken; next CCCLIII, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρης & κοίλος, full and deficient, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The first, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalapha* or contraction of the words *συνελωία*. The second *δατύες*. The eighth *δισχουνία*, or halfe full: the full *παραλήω*. The last *τεταχός*, *ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ συμπάσει* <sup>d</sup>, because that in the daies of *Thales Milesius*, d who was the author of that terme, the Moneth had 30, and no more, but ended, whence I suppose *ἐπ' αὐτῇ τεταχός*, signifie the dead, the period of whose life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sunne; <sup>f</sup> *sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheless that the yeare might be correspondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called *ἡμερησίου* epacted, to the last Month *Scirophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365 D. which was the true and just measure. But he might have added sometimes 366, by reason of that 1 which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greekes to have reckoned, although they accounted their Moneths but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which <sup>a</sup> *Aratus* stiles *μέσας ἐπισαυίς*. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the yeares by seed time. <sup>b</sup> *Sophocles* — *Ἐλόμενων Ἀρόρων ἔτ' εἰς ἔτ'*. For the ancients, saies <sup>c</sup> *Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sun, or seasons; as Spring, summer, autumn, winter, <sup>d</sup> (*Sophocles*. *Ἐξ ἡρ' εἰς Ἀρκτούς ἐμμήνης χρόνος κοίμωνι δ' ἤδη*) or thirdly by the Moone: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtooke and surpassed the Sun, <sup>e</sup> *ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃς & παραλαμβάνει & παρεχούσῃ τῷ ἡλίῳ*, he caused that to be called *γῆνη & νέα* the old and new, because that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

the precedent Moneth, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces *h* *Aratus* calls *συνιστάτων Μηνῶν περιεργα*) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *I Odysses* termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, *τὸ ἄνω ἐδί- πνυτο ὑλῶς, τὸ δ' ἰσαμύοιτο*. Where we may note that then they had no *ὑλῶς*, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, used by *k* *Demosthenes* in one Oration, *ἐν δὲ κατὰ τὴν δέκατον*. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said *πρὶν ἐπὶ δέκα, πρὶν ἐπὶ δέκα*, the third above ten, the fourth upon tenne, and so to twentie, \* But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order and used *ἀνά τε ἐδίπνυτο, ἐν δὲ*. &c. the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease, and so the twentie nine, *δὲ πρὶν ἐδίπνυτο*, the second of the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the 30th they call'd *ἡνὶ ἔρῳ* for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was *ἐδίπνυτο*. *Ἐν δὲ ἐδίπνυτο ἄνω καὶ ἐδίπνυτο δὸν καὶ τὰ ὅσα*. Because the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novæque pergunt interire Luna*. in *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum ἐδίπνυτο dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen definit secuturi*: *Ἐν δὲ ἰσαμύοιτο* illud, qui praesedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meanti. *Ἐν δὲ* standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth: fixed and still waiting untill the Moon shall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, *n Stat sua cuique dies*, as unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we *μῶν καὶ πόλις ἀγῶν*, to count the Moneth as they do, who manage politick busineses, or belonging to goverment. In which course they made their year of *CCCLIII* daies, which divided into ten pars make ten times

*h* In *Dioscor.* p. 125.  
*i* *Odysses*. pag. 164.

*k* Contra *Ti-*  
*mocratem*. p.  
446. n. 39.

\* Vide *Plutarch.*  
loco nuper lau-  
dat.

*l* *Ulpian* in  
*Dem.* p. 210.  
in *Macrobius*  
*Sat.* l. c. 16.

*n* *Æneid.* 10. p.  
330.



Σιτίμβριθ.	Παρθένθ.	Θισεί.	Θυσία.	Γορταῖθ.	Ελαφιβολιῶν.
Οατωβριθ.	Ζυγος.	Μεσπεί.	Φαωσί.	Τῶρβερεταῖθ.	Μενυχιάθ.
Νέβριθ.	Σκορπίθ.	Χαλιδ.	Αδου.	Δίθ.	Θαργηλιῶν.
Δικαμβριον.	Τεζότης.	Τισιθ.	Χοιδ.	Απειλά.	Σκιρροφοριῶν.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appeares not that *Hecatombæon* was ever removed out of his place, as a *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* condradcting of which by & by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their Easter began the year in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*; as he himselfe Testifies. <sup>Eclog. Chr. P. 42. 14.</sup> But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the year from *July* to the seaventh of *October* it is like that they began at *Metactæon* according to this rule, <sup>Ex MS. Biblioth. Bodleianæ in 80. n. 8.</sup>

Μαιμακτηριῶν.  
Ποσειδεῶν.  
Γαμηλιῶν.  
Λυσιαῶν.  
Ελαφιβολιῶν.  
Μενυχιάθ.  
Θαργηλιῶν.  
Σκιρροφειῶν.  
\*Εκατομβαιῶν.  
Μεταγχιτιῶν.  
Βονδρομιάθ.  
Πυανεσιῶν.

d Certain it is that the same *Attick* Moneths are sometimes Lunar, & sometimes not, but of 30 D: or *Julian*, When they are Lunar they have no sure feat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the Reason why the same Moneths have not been suted to the *Julian*, by writers <sup>d Vide Petav. in Epiph. p. 138.</sup>

e Pag. 21.  
 f Pag. 163.  
 g In Olynth. 3.  
 h Pag. 148.  
 i Pag. 140.  
 k Pag. 167.  
 l Pag. 120.  
 m Pag. 167.  
 n Eclog. Chr.  
 l. i. c. 6. p. 213.  
 o Vide Petav.  
 in Epiphan  
 pag. 139.

Vlpian on Demosthenes parallels Hecatombæon to e January, and in the Oration for Ctesiphon, to March, and again to f April. g March he calls Boedromion, which also he interprets h June. Elaphebolion i November, k September (in the margin February) and l December. m Thargelion, April, Munichon January. Scirrophorion, March. Which errors are cursorily noted by n Petit in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of Augustus Caesar they were charged to conform their year to the Julian, they o thus numbred.

*Menfes Attici. Menfes Juliani*

Ελατηβολιών.	March.
Μενοχών.	April.
Θαργηλιών.	May.
Σκίρροφρειών.	June.
* Βυετομβαιών.	July.
Μεταεσιβιών.	August.
Βονδρομιαί.	September.
Μαινακτηριών.	October.
Πυανεσιών.	November.
Ποσειδεών.	December.
Γαυηλιών.	January.
Ανθιστευιών.	February.

But of this, so much only. We must handle their Lunarie year, because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as a τῷ οὐτῷ κ' ὅσον ἐκ Διουυσίων. So much and as long since the Bacchanals, speaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

*Hecatombæon. July.*

1	Πρώτη ἡμέρα, Πρυτανεία αἰγάπη.
2	Τεῖτη.
3	Τετάρτη.
4	Πέμπτη.



- 5 Εἶπεν.  
 6 Εὐδοκίμην. \* Κἀποδὶς ὁ Θησέως εἰς Ἀθηνάων. Kept in memory of the returne of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had  
 7 \* Οὐδὼν. slayne the *Minotaur*, <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch*. The solemn- <sup>b</sup> In vita p. 12.  
 tie <sup>c</sup> *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis* <sup>c</sup> *Metamorph.*  
 8 Εὐατη. fertur celebratio illo Illuxisse dies, &c. the eight <sup>d</sup> l. 7. Fab. 22.  
 9 Διηγόρου. day of every Month was sacred to him. He had <sup>d</sup> Vide illum 43.  
 also a festival called *Theseia*, in honour of gather- <sup>d</sup> l. g. inter. Nam  
 ing together the dispersed people of *Attica*. <sup>d</sup> ent opera  
 10 ἀπὸ τῆς αἰσχροῦς. <sup>d</sup> pretium.  
 11 Διότρεα. Κεῖρα ἐκκλησία. α. <sup>d</sup> Pag. 446.  
 12 Τρίτη. Κρήνια. Of these, as also of the day, speaks <sup>d</sup> contra Timoc-  
 13 Τετάρτη. <sup>d</sup> *Demosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on <sup>d</sup> ratem.  
 14 πέμπτῃ. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals, <sup>d</sup> In Annalib.  
 15 \* Ἑκτη. <sup>c</sup> *L. Accius*, *Maxima pars Graium Saturni*, <sup>d</sup> vide Macrobi.  
 16 Ἑβδομή. & maxime Athenæ Conscienti sacra, que <sup>d</sup> Saturn. l. 1. c. 7.  
 17 Οὐδὼν. *Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumque die cele-* <sup>d</sup> veritas finem.  
 18 Εὐατη. brant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent <sup>d</sup> \* Then were  
 19 Εἰκάς. epulis lati, famulosq, procurant Quisque suos. <sup>d</sup> kept the  
 20 Διηγότη. Φθινόροισι. Κεῖρα ἐκκλησία. ε. Hence was <sup>d</sup> *Menekia* in  
 21 Εὐατη. this Moneth called by the ancient *Atheni-* <sup>d</sup> memorat. all of  
 22 Οὐδὼν. <sup>c</sup> *ans* Κεῖροισι; afterward *Hecatombeion*, from <sup>d</sup> their translati-  
 23 Ἑβδομή. ἐκατομβαία, sacrifices to *Iupiter* or *Apollo*, as <sup>d</sup> gation. Plur.  
 24 Ἑκτη. some think with the blood of an hundred <sup>d</sup> p. 8. l. 9 By  
 25 πέμπτῃ. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa- <sup>d</sup> (some it is ter-  
 26 Τετάρτη. crifices. <sup>f</sup> *Ovid*. *Taurorum sanguine centum*. <sup>d</sup> med. *Ξωδοκία*  
 27 \* Τρίτη Παναθηναία <sup>g</sup> The Scholiast of *Homer* <sup>d</sup> Aristop. pag.  
 28 Διότρεα sayes that *Hecatombe* may be used for five & <sup>d</sup> 700. Plut. ini-  
 29 Ἑκὴ καὶ νῆα twenty beasts, whose feet make up the num- <sup>d</sup> tio Them.  
 ber of an hundred, ἀπὸ ἧς ἐκατομβάσιων, ὃ ὁδὸν εἰς ἑκατομβήν  
 ζώον.

\* To *Minerva* the protectresse of their citie, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch*, καὶ παναθηναία l. 8.

δοῖαν ἐπίνοσε κοινῶν. At first they had the name Ἀθλοῖα, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as a horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πύρριν, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the *Gyants*. All which you may read in *i Meursius* at large, and *k Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

The second of this moneth is called ταῖτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

*Metagitnion*. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγίτινα.

i In Panathenais.

k Pag. 140.

197. 180. 181.

467. 580. 650.

746.

1 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. γ.

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4 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. δ.

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7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρη.

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17 Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. α.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία.ρ.

\* Boedromion September.

\* From this Month came the Feast of Boedromia from Theseus over-throwing the masons.

Plut. p. 9. of Ion helping the Athenians against Hamolpus when Cynagirus pursued the flying enemies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prowess spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Latini. Quiritati hence help came it. Corliop p. 23 a. b. lib 2. b Tom. 1. pag. 257. see Plut in Aristid. p. 241. c Sch. Aristop. p. 147.

- 1
- 2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When Pausanias and Arisides over-
- 3 threw Mardonius, Xerxes his General near Plataea, a
- 4 citie of Boeotia, Herodotus, b Justin.
- 5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Miltiades leader of the Attick
- 6 Κυρία ἐκκλησία.γ. forces got the upper hand of the
- 7 Persians. In which battle
- 8 when Cynagirus pursued the
- 9 Κίρρα ἐκκλησία.δ. flying enemies to their ships,
- 10 he caught hold of one with his
- 11 \* Χάρις ἐν Ελευθερίᾳ. right hand, which lost, he made
- 12 use of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prow-
- 13 esse spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name
- 14 \* Ἀγυρὴς Μυσήρια. for valour against his enemies.
- 15 \* In thankfulnesse for the delivery of Greece, at what
- 16 time Darins and his fleet went homeward. b Arisfi-
- 17 des describes the joy at full and the erecting of an Al-
- 18 tar to Jupiter that freed them.
- 19 \* The greater in which they were made c ἱερόν, or
- 20 admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first
- 21 day was called ἀγυρὴς, perhaps from the conflux of the

Here I look on  
Mauriciu for  
breccias sake  
but if you  
please to read  
generally, see  
Aristoph. Sch.  
p.85-98.131.  
138.455.  
529.647.14.  
218.227.228.  
231.233.217.  
262.264.516.  
Aristid. T. 1.  
p. 323. Clem.  
Alex in Pro-  
trop. p. 10.

22 \* Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. people. The second ἀλφειῖ ἰαυ-  
 23 warned them to goe to the sea. The third day they fa-  
 24 crificed a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an eni-  
 25 mie to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-  
 26 presenting *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which wo-  
 27 men following cried χαῖτε Δῆμοντες, Haile *Ceres*. The  
 28 fitt they ranne with torches. Fence λαμπάδοντες, and  
 29 λαμπάδων ἡμέτε. The sixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp.  
 Hence it is termed ἱαχῶ. The 7<sup>th</sup> day they exercised in feats  
 of activity & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8<sup>th</sup>  
 was *Epidauria* from *Aesculapius* his coming frō *Epidauria*  
 to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two mea-  
 sures of corn, and setting one at East and the other at West,  
 they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ἡ  
 the other to the ground, saying, τοῦ. Thus *Minysius*. That  
 day was παύεσθον.

a Sympos. Q.  
1.9. q.6.& in l.  
πρὸς φιλαδέλ-  
φους. p. 331.

*b* Lib. de doct.  
Temp. i. c. 5.  
p. 11. D.

\* Maxmafte.  
tion is to bee  
inserted here.

The second of this Moneth was left out ever, saies <sup>a</sup> *Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as *πλερτη* for *τειτη*, which was recompensed by *ἐνδεκτη* *φθινοντος*, or *εταμν*. As in a defective Moneth *δεκτη* *φθινοντος*, for the twentie. Of this judgment is the <sup>b</sup> *worthie* *Pitavim*.

\* *Pyaneption.* October.

This moneth took denomination from the feasts *Pyanep-  
fia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ar-  
iving they put it into one pot, and seething it, were Ioviall al-  
together at the same.

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2 Κυρία Εγκλησία.β.

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Πυανίαια

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After that *Theseus* had buried his father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaur*, he would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beanes. Hence *Πυανίαια*, as it were *κυμαίνια*. For the antiques called *Α ος εις τα θεζουοίαια*. [beanes *πυανίαια*.

*Κυρία εκκλησία. γ.*

*θεζουοίαια*

*cPlantus* calls this festivall *vigilias* *c* In *Aulularia*. *Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with *κορυα* for that purpose, it being an enimie to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that took their liquor freely. The number of daies were three allotted, as

*Πρυτανεία. δ.*

some, or foure, as others, When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, is false; for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewne. They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes first, as shee is termed *Διωνήτη θεζουοίαια*. Of these you may read *d Aristophanes* and his Scholiast.

\* *Αυαίαια* Kept this moneth. When the Parents brought their children to their Tribes, to be inrolled, I suppose for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for four daies.

*Κυρία εκκλησία. α.* The first was *Δομια*. The second *Αναρρυσια*. The third *Κυραωτια*. The fourth, *Επιβδαια*.

*Καλ-αία*. In honour to *Minerva*. *f Menenius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this moneth, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them. *f Græcia Ferial. 1.*

## Mamæstirion. November.

This moneth is to be placed before *Pyanepson*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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Κυβηά ἐκκλησία.β.

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Κυβηά ἐκκλησία.γ.

Plutarch in the life of *Aristides*,

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saies that the *Boeotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly

19

some to sacrifice to the memory of those that died at

20

*Platae*, and every five year they have great pastimes,

21

which he sets down the manner of.

22

23

Πουτανεία.δ. This moneth is derived from *Jupiter*

24

*Mamætes*: for I suppose they first found Gods, after-

25

ward festivals to them. Not the moneths first, and

26

then named the Gods from them.

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28  
29

*Posideon. December.*

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this <sup>b</sup> In Theophr.  
moneth was sacred to him, as <sup>b</sup> *Casaubon*. Hence hee thinks it Char. ult.  
to be called *Προσειδών* ἡμέρα.

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4 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .α.*

5 *Λωζια.* *Dionysia* τῇ ῡ3<sup>τ</sup> ἁγίας. Without the citie. It  
6 seemes when they had gathered in, vintage  
7 and pressed their grapes. *Λωὴν Torcular*. Then were they  
8 most jocund, as may appeare out of that *Like the voice of*  
9 *them that tread the wine presse*, and in *Oppian*. ἐπὶ λωΐα ἐκκλήνῃ .α.  
10 *χαίρειν*. On which words <sup>d</sup> *Conradus Ristarsbusius* takes v. 127.  
11 *Λωζιῶν* to be *January*. d Pagina. 13.

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13 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .β.*

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16 *Αἰῶα.* A feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull. *Demosthen*: c Pag. 743.

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23 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.*

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26 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.*

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29 *Πρωταγοία. ε.*

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*Gamelion January.*

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-  
 2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*  
 3 on *Lycophron*. That moneth wherein this people coup-  
 4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from *γάμος*, *nuptia*. It is sa-  
 5 cred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*  
 6 *jugalis*, President of weddings and the marriage bed.

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9 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.*

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18 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.*

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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.

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Antheſterion. February]

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2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .δ.

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5 Πρωμυσία .ζ.

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- 11 Ἀνθιςθία Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *Πρωμυσία* Of this you may see *Aristoph* p. 293.
- 12 from *πίδος* the tubs, and *ῥιζεν*, to open, for at the broa- 417. 419.
- 13 ching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second 422. 222.
- 14 *Χύα* from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that could drink down the rest The day was called *χύτεα*
- 15 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .α.* of his companions had a golden crowne. The third *χύτεα*, I suppose different likewise, but
- 16 from *χύτεα*. From this Festivall the moneth is named. not in the sense spoken.
- 17 The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Limnis* were kept,
- 18 called *αἰγάλα* & *α' χυόμενα*. The 13<sup>th</sup> were acted Comæ- a In Terent. p. 289.
- 19 dies, begun the 3<sup>d</sup> yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was Archon. But after they were taught as a *Do-* b In Demost. p. 184.
- 20 nat and *Vlrian* witnesse, and *c Aristophan* 1, 878 *ἐλδο* c Pag. 143.
- 21 *σωτηρέχει ὁπποδμῶν τα κενὰ δ' ἐμάλα ἐλέσθην*, saies one.
- 22 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία .β.*
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*Archeologia Attica Lib.2.Cap.10.*

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*Elaphebolion. March.*

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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Θυσία Ἀθηναίων. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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Πρυτανία. ε.

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Διόνυσια τῆς κατ' ἑξ.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

e Contra  
Ctesiphont;

Of these c *Æschines* makes  
mention, and you shall have  
them obvious every where in  
the Greek Authors.

*Μηνύχιον*

*Munychion.* April.

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Κυρία ἑκκλησιᾶ γ.

Κυρία ἑκκλησιᾶ δ.

Μὲνυχα. Πρυτανία ἐστὶν

*Munychia* were  
observed to *Dia-*

na, who was so called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*,  
by *Athens*. The moneth beares the name. In this  
moneth were the causes of strangers judged.<sup>a</sup> *Arist. Sc.*

To *Jupiter Melichius*. The greatest day <sup>a</sup> *Avib. p. 60.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Pag. 150.*

that the Attick rout was kept in. See of 174.

this <sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes* and <sup>c</sup> *Eustathius*.

<sup>c</sup> *Ismen. Sc.*  
*Ism. l. 1.*

Κυρία ἑκκλησιᾶ α.

Ἡγῆα Ἰσχυρομένη.  
Thargelion. May.

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5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

6 Θεοδήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*, holding it to be their na-

7 tivitie. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the

8 people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,

9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time

10 of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sinnes of

11 the citie, Two in number, saies the <sup>a</sup> *Scholiast* of *Ari-*12 *stophanes*, whence they were called *δυνάσοι*: but more13 properly καθαρίματα δε φεγγαῖς, <sup>b</sup> *Aristophanes*.

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15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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19 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

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<sup>a</sup> In Equites  
pag. 353.  
<sup>b</sup> In Ranis.

<sup>c</sup> Pag. 152.  
<sup>d</sup> Euseb. c.  
p. 257.

To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is  
named *Βένδης*.

Not much different from  
the greater. See *Menestheus*.

*Καμυσηία*, *Πρυτανία*, &c.

*Pettins* places it on the 24 day, o-

thers will have the 25. To *Miner-*

*va*, on which they take off the ornaments of her statue,

and wash it I suppose, <sup>c</sup> *Plutarch*; <sup>d</sup> *Xenophon*.

*Scirophorion*.

Scirrophorian. Iune.

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12 *Σκίρρα.* To *Minerva* from *σκίρρα*, a Canopie, under  
13 which her Priests did walke in pomp at that  
14 time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*.  
c *Schol. Aristoph.*

c Pag. 497.

15 *Βεφόνικ.* It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slain that  
16 beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, he  
17 slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was  
18 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave  
19 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the  
20 plough. To which d *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos* d Satyr. 10;

v. 268.

21 *Κυρία εκκλησία .γ.* *Qui domini cultus tenui* &  
22 *miserabile collum Præbet, ab*  
23 *invito jam fastidius aratro.*

24 *Κυρία εκκλησία .δ.*

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26  
27 *Πρυτανεία.* ή φυλή πενήτη, &c.

28 Where *Petitus* makes the soure first Tribes to governe \* *Athen. Rep.*  
29 each his day, on those soure that abounded above the l. 2. c. 3.  
30 year, \* *Sigoninus* seems to agree, and \* *Mausæus* ap- \* *In Notis ad*  
proves *Harpocra.*

\* De Doct.  
Temp. l. 2. c. 1.  
\* De emend.  
Tem. lib. 1.

proves it. Neither is it disliked by \* *Petavius*. \* *Scaliger* hath  
falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Prytanæa* to rule  
36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first  
four.

## CAP. IX.

*De Tragædia, Satyrica, & Comædia.*

a Vid. Can.  
Chio, ad Gr.  
Epoch. Mar.  
Arund. p. 97.  
b Hermog. de  
Eloq. Meth. p.  
561. c. 33. Eu-  
stath. in Præf.  
ad Iliad  
c Tract de  
Trag. & Co-  
mœd. præfat.  
Terentio.

d Marm. A-  
runde. & ad  
ea Seld. CL.  
Præfixa etiam  
Ar. Stophan.  
αἰα κῶμος. p.

Sch. in Naz.  
Stel. c. d. 106.

**I**T is take for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who  
lived 1987 yeares before Christ, was the first that taught  
b *ἡρακλῆς λέγειν*, to speak in Tragædie; comprehending great  
and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being  
more large and using circumlocution in matters of lesse con-  
sequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the pro-  
perty of a Tragædian. This foundation being laid, following  
ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection.  
*Nam post illius tale tantumque documentum, &c. saies c Domar.*  
For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had represented a Tragæ-  
die, by the *Odyssees* a Comædie, most ingenious imitators took  
those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which  
at that time were inconsideratly, & without judgment writ-  
ten, impolisht, and in the first rudiments not so neat and trim,  
as in processe of time they were made. For Poesie was a great  
while in her minoritie, and very rude, after the first publish-  
ing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of d *Susarion*, the first  
Comædian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few  
as may but witnesse such an Author. The original of the  
word Comædie is supposed to be taken from divers reasons:  
First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*,  
they sung them, and so it may be derived from κῶμος, *commis-*  
*satio*; c *κῶμος* *ἔιν*, signifying *ἔχουσιν αὐχρῶς αἰσιν*, to sing basely  
at the cup. Secondly from κῶμος, sleep; because when any of  
the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custom  
(as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in  
the



the night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry, such and such rejoyce in wrong; and commit such outrages, though there be Gods and Lawes. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was sought out by the husbandmen and much shamed; by which these wrongs were redressed. Thirdly from *χοῖον*, a street, because when the old Athenians would note a wicked mans life out to the world meeting merrily in the streets and high waies, they laid open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & f* Donatus de compita ex omnibus locis lati, alacresque veniebant: ibique cum Tra. & Com. nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant. These verses were g Idem ibid. first sung g in the green Meddowes, h about the beginning h In Synopsi of the spring; When the husbandmen kept the festivals of vite Aristop. Th. Magister. Bacchus the God of Wine, to whom they sacrificed a Goat, because his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took and sowed up close, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it slippery, and so hopped with one leg upon it, making themselves laughter at the falls they often took. This sport they call *χοῖον* from *χοῖον* a skin and *αἶμα*, to leap, i Aristophanes. *χοῖον* ἐστὶν αἶμα τῶν αἰδέων. k Virgil hath fitly set it out. i Plut. p. 108. k Geor. 2. p. 71.

*Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris*

*Ceditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi;*

*Premiaque vingentes Pagos & compita circum*

*Thescida posuere; atque inter pocula lati*

*Mollibus in pratis, unctos saliere per utres.*

l Isa. Tzetzes

in Proleg. ad

Poetas, inter-

After *Susarion*, sprang up *Thespis*, the first that made Tragedies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymosa poemata*, sad poems; because they represent humane miseries the misfortunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as *Arrian* hath observed. Which thing gave an occasion to *Socrates*, when he saw the most worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants, to say to *Aristophanes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did some famous exploit? So in Tragedies we marke

prets καμὰς,

uinsa χαεία.

m In Epist.

p. 95.

n Elhan. Var.

l. 2. c. 11.

L

that

that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestis*, and *Agamemnon* are slain, but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Not supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragedie of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragedie might happen to him, meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is *Τετραμετρον* used as *ο κωμωδία* for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragedie that *Thespis* taught was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as *Mr Selden* hath conjectured. This *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragedies, as *ἡ ἀρχαία ἰσοδωρία*, a fruitlesly-ing. *Horace* of him thus speaks.

*Ignotum tragicae genua invenisse camene*

*Dicunt, & planstris vexisse poemata Thespis.*

*Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sacribus ora.*

Upon which words some have written, that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon waines: But alas, a poor conceit! *Franciscus Lusinus Utiensis* is of opinion that *Thespis* carried his scene upon carres and *Acrion*; That the *Chorus* carried about in waines acted Tragedies. *Chori planstris circumducti Tragedias agebant.* I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables: And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word *ὑποκριτής*, intimating a Poet. *ὁ ὑποκριτὴς ὑποκριτής*, &c. The ancients, saies *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, actors, which we now terme *Tragadi*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a Scene upon a wain drawn in procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*; as among the *Greeks* the custome was, saies the Scholiast of *Naxianzus*. Of the manner in those ancient times, \* *Plutarch* shall thus informe you. *Αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ οὖν καὶ κληῖται*, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat next another with a basket of figs and last of all the *Phallus*. In which solemnitie the Poets in waines following the pomp, might without controule laugh, scorne, and deride any they met, saies \* *Dionysius Halicarnasensis*.

o Athen. l. 3 p.

90.

p Ad Marm.  
Arund.

q Laert. in  
Solone. p. 40.

r In Horatii  
Poeticen.

f Schol. Arist.  
p. 142.

t In Demost.  
p. 40.

u Stet β pag.  
107.

\* *ὁ φῆλοπας*  
p. 345.

x Antiq. Rom.  
l. 7.

few; or were wont, as the y Schol: of Nazian: to rayle upon each other. Whence *μετ' ὅτε*, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good sense sometimes to celebrate the pomp, or goe in procession in honour to the festivall) and *ἀναιμία*, a scandall or reproach, *ὕβρις, λοιδορία*. Whence likewise came the Greek proverb, *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαβεῖν, tanquam ex planstro loqui*, and *ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης ὑβρίζειν, tanquam ex planstro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in a abuse. Which that they might doe the better without shame, or blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei face*, with the dregs of oyle, saies *Donat*, or of wine (for so interpret *πύρα*) from which Poets by *Aristophanes* are called *πυρρὸι σάκρες*. *Horace* -- *Peruncti sacibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, which lest they should hurt the head, were defended from the skinne with a wollen cap, named *μάδον*. A word elegantly used by *Demosthenes*, in a Metaphor drawne from the liberty and impunitie of the persons that wore it *οὐδ' οἷσι δὴ λω δώπειν παλὴς τὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἀδικοματων καὶ πρὶ τὸν λαόν ἐπὶ τῷ κραλλῷ*. Think not to escape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatening to any slanderer, of whom we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to forget the Poet, while I speak of the stage; I wil therefore return to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented Tragedies; so called, as *Donat* tels, because (lest there should be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be stirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Capere namque pro dono his dabatur*. *τράγος* is a Goat, and *ᾄδω* a song. *Horace*, *Carminum qui Tragicum vilem certavit ob hircum*. Before that time some say that *Epigenes* the Sicyonian made Tragedies, but the most received opinion is this which *Horace* hath set downe of *Thespis*. Before him there was no art of poeie Tragicall, but at their festivals, when they ascribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did it especial-

Leco laud.

z Hermog.

Meth. de Elo-

quentia, c. 2. p.

519.

a Dem. pro

Coron. p. 134.

b Schol. Arist.

p. 142.

c Vlpian. in

loc. cit. Dem.

d Nub. bus p.

141.

e Vlpian. in

Dem. p. 254.

(De falsa

Legatione.

g Orat. p. 242.  
 e eap. p. 242.  
 h Charact. vi.  
 Casaub.

i Georg. 2.  
 k Casaub. de  
 Sat. Poet. l. 1.

l Casaub. ib.

m De arte  
 poet.

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when Actors are called *δῶ-  
 νηται ποιηταί*, and *ποιηταί*, simply by g *Demosthenes*, by *Donat*  
*Artifices*. The word is used for juggling, and such as *Hekys Po-  
 kys* in h *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe  
 and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their  
 solemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and  
 from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up.  
 They would likewise cast forth *αὐτοχρηδία* *Quaia*, as they terme  
 them, in i *Virgils* language, *versus incompertos*, k *Numeros innu-  
 meris contempore fundi solitos & sine arte*. For they had of old  
 but two sorts of verses, *Hiroicks*, in which they sung the  
 praise of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a short time,  
 with finale care grew a *Tragœdie*; the other sort was *Jam-  
 bicks* as toyng and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, &  
 from hence came a *Comœdie*. At first small was the diffe-  
 rence betweene a *Tragœdie* and *Comœdie*, l *constat sane, pri-  
 mis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam &  
 Comœdiam*, and the reason is, because even *Tragœdies* had  
 their wantonnesse and petulancie. At first they sung in ho-  
 nour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting  
 him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people  
 saw they cryed downe, with *Οὐδὲν αἰεὶς Διόνυσος*, whence  
 our proverbiall adverb is fitly used *ἀπερὸς Διονύσου*, for nothing  
 to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the *Satyres*  
 did *praludere*. But after that, when a *Tragœdie* took state  
 they excluded the *Satyres*, and were only for sad and serious  
 persons; by which mournfull poems the people were wont  
 to be cast downe, sympathizing with the person represented.  
 therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton *Satyres* were  
 brought in by *Thespis* as m *Horace*.

*Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper  
 Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod  
 Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus  
 Spectator, funclnsque sacris, & potus & exlex.*  
 In a *Satyrick* play, *Satyres* have a *Chorus* place, or else the  
 persons

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the  
 mindes of the Spectators, they would bring in Satyres for  
 sports sake; and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture  
 of Satyrick sport, saies <sup>a</sup> Casaubon. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus* <sup>n. P. 126 de</sup>  
*Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I say <sup>Sat. Poet.</sup>  
*Thespis* was the first inventor, who likewise to ease the *Cho-*  
*rus* (so for that acted only, brought one actor upon the stage, <sup>o Laert. p. 220.</sup>  
 to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the  
 number was three, *Æschylus*'s is *ἀσπεργιστής*, *Sophocles* his  
*τετραγιστής*, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in <sup>p De-</sup>  
*mosthenes*, *Vlpian*, *οὐκ ἀσπυριστὴς καὶ ἄσπεργιστής*, speaking of  
*Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarū*  
*& tertiarum partium* <sup>b</sup> *Utin actoribus Græcis fieri videmus,* <sup>p 184.</sup>  
*sape illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit ali-*  
*quanto clarius dicere, quam ipse primarum, multum summitte-*  
*re, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me speak  
 what I have to say of a Tragœdie. <sup>a</sup> None was permitted  
 once to act *Æschylus*, *Enripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies,  
 but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors  
 might (as I conceive repeat them. *Τὸν δὲ πόλεως γερμνατὶα*  
*μυσαγνώσκων τοῖς ἀσπυριστοῖς, καὶ ἑτέροις δὲ αὐτὸς ἀσπυ-*  
*ριστῶν.* And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour  
 were they commanded to be transcribed, and kept under cu-  
 stodie *ἐν κοινῷ*. Yet the <sup>b</sup> Author of the life of *Æschylus* <sup>b Juxta finem</sup>  
 writes, that the people made a decree, that he should receive  
 such a summe of gold, that would *διδάσκων* the plaies of *Æs-*  
*chylus* after his death. I put the word *διδάσκων*, *decere*. Because  
 Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were said *οἱ δὲ δίδαχλῶ*  
*δὲ ἀσπυριστὴν ἐπαζόμεν οἱ*, to labour in teaching the people. And  
 for this end did the ancients lay out so much mony upon their  
 Theaters. <sup>c</sup> *Sed immane quos quantosque sumptus, in Theatra,* <sup>c Heinſius</sup>  
*in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum representationem fecerit an-* <sup>Polæg ad A-</sup>  
*tiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, at pr-* <sup>Plutarchum</sup>  
*udentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & firmas Reipub-* <sup>Sacrua.</sup>  
*lica, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari credent consilia. Not unfittly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.*

Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, *ἡ δὲ (Comœdia) docetur fabula*, and *ἡ δὲ (Tragœdia) docere*, as sometime *Seneca*, as you may see in *c Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors; so saies *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. Hee brought great grace to the stage, and first taught *σκηνοποιίαν*, the painting of the Scenes, which some think *Horace* to ayme at, when he saies, *Modicis infravit pulpita signis*. Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did *πολλὰ καὶ νεωτέρη*, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himselfe acted) by reason of the badnesse of his own voice; he found out white shooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelue; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented *σκηνοποιίαν* I cannot finde. Somewhat like-

d Athenæus  
Dip. l. 6. pag.  
268. vide Car-  
saub.  
e Pag. 270.  
f Lib. 12.

g T. Magister.

h In the de-  
fence of  
Poetic.

i Heinſius in  
Proleg. ad A-  
ristarchum  
ſacrum.  
k Æſchines  
cont. Cteſiph.

wise was added by *Euripides*: as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may observe, leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principall point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation *Philip Sidney*, is not past by, as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of the Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certaine solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called *Διονυσιακοὶ Κεταί*, and *Κεταί ἐν Διονυσίῳ*; Ten in number, think some at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Be-  
cause



cause when he had brought the Reliques of *Thesus* out of *Seyrus*, *Aphepsion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soone as the Theater was filled, and spectators placed; but presently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accustomed sacrifice he swore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young, for which *Æschylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried neare *I Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge done in testimonie of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be so great. For there seems to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be such as we speak, the power incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. *m Cam neque provocatio ab iis esset, neque de quibus illi judicaret, magistratus ceteri sententiam pronuntiarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, *ἡ Πρωτὴ καὶ ἑστὶ ἐν γένεσιν καὶ τῷ. sub quinque* *n* *judicibus lis est.* The *o* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks somewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, passe censures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Those were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voices. For the odde gave a great stroake. Hence wishes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- *ἐνὶ κριτῶν νικᾶν μόνον*, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his *Νεβύλαι*, they so much tooke the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, *ὃ ποιεῖται ὅν τῶν κριτῶν ἀνῶθεν Ἀριστοταλῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλῃ γένεσιν*, saies *p* *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the fashion was, which *q* *Aristophanes*

*Plut. Ciarone p 352. 39.*

*m* *Heinsius loco laudato,*

*n* *Zenobius. Ad Aves p. 562.*

*p* *Var. H. L. 1. Avib. p. 562.*



next calls *πρῶτον ἐν μυαῖσι*, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honustum est in secundis tertiusve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and Spectators. 1 *Aristophan.*

Ὀπίου' ἐπὶ ταῖς πᾶσινικαὶ τοῖς κριταῖς

καὶ τοῖς σταταῖς πᾶσι—Where the Scholiast interprets *ἐπιπύου* truly as it is to be understood, *ἔρχομαι* to supplicate. And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use *Aristophanes* points, saying—*ἐκ ἐβάνητε*; nay sometime would they hiss them, which they terme *κάλειν* and *συνέειπον*, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call *κέρπουσαν* by *τ Pollux* interpreted *ἐβάνητε ὅτι συνέειπον κατὰ κέρπον*. Another difference is that *α* the Comick Judges were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tragædies and Comædies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authors shall afford authority: Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they who in their opinion lost the day, were said \* *ἐκπίνον*. by *x Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragædies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia in Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia in Limnis*, in the moneth *Anthesterion*, on *Diemysia in urbe* in the moneth *Elaphobolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in *γ Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

\* Loco laud.

(*Ran's* p. 248.

Lib. 6. c. 19.  
p. 203.  
\* *Aeschines*  
contra *Ctesiph.*  
p. 98.

\* *Heinsius*  
*Prolegom.*  
x *Sat. Poeti.*

y *Platone*  
pag. 220.

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Gracorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulas committerent fabulas, modo plures, faies z Casaubon:* Sometime in the same year three, <sup>De Satyrica Poeti p. 131.</sup> and then was it called *τριλογία*; sometime foure, and then they stiled it *πενταλογία*, <sup>a Τα δὲ πεντα Δραματα ἐκαλῶτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ.</sup> Whereof, saies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orstia*, to wit, *Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηρέστ. Ευριπίδης.* Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides. Medea. Philoctetes. Diſtys.* The fourth was *Πειρεσία*, saies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Πειρεσία*, <sup>Σειροί; Messores, Satyros;</sup> he ought to have rendred it thus *Messres, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by *b Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comædies were twentie foure, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but *σείχης* foure, each *σείχης* six men) in Tragædies fifty, untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenid's*, the number of which so terrified the people, <sup>c that the children and younger sort fainted, & the women suffered abortion; for which reason, saies Pollux,</sup> the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by that Act brought to fiteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into *σείχης*, and *ζυγά*. *Ζυγά* was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called *τριζυγά παρὰ πρῶτον*, by file. *Σείχης*, when they came on the stage in ranke five at a time; and this they terme *τρισειχίς*. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they say *καθ' ἑνα*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three; but if a fourth spake, that they named *ἑταροφύλας* and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled *ἑταρομύθοι*. To speak of the severall verses of Tragædies, is *ἀλλῶν ἀγέρι*; <sup>d Laertius loco citato.</sup>

and I had rather speak of the action, then the art in composing, and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *στροφή* & *ἀντιστροφή*. *Στροφή*, saies the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the universe *τῷ παντί*, from the East to the West: because *Homer* calls the East the right hand, the West the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *7amin*, which signifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. *Ἀντιστροφή* was a turning from the West to the East, that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another posture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be so in Tragædies, as in *Lyrick Mulick*, which I beleeeve) to expresse the immobility of the earth they stood still. They used *Epodes* for the most part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the stage. Thus much of Tragædies; the authors of which were highly of old esteemed of; insomuch as after the dismal discomfite of the *Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *Lycurgus*, & established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memorie. After Tragædies had proceeded to perfection, Comædies were with great applause taught, as *Horace*,

*Successit vetus his Comædia, non sine multa  
Laude--*

He saies, *vetus Comædia*, because a Comædy was divided into three, or if you please so to speak, two sorts, the Old and New. I said three sorts, because\* the old was different from it selfe. The meaning is, that the old Comædie, of which *Saïarion* (by some named *Sannyrion*,) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decencie. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoaking Altars, sung *simplex carmen*, some naked verses, saies *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redressed: for he ordained three Actors: and mingled with his sport, profit, I meane for instruction. For under the *Democracie* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose  
for

d Plut. in fine  
vitæ Nicie.  
e. Plut. in vit.  
x. Resp. Pauf.  
Atticis, p. 18,

f De arte Po-  
etica,

\* Grammat.  
ἡ παλαιὰ  
ἐαυτῆς διαφέ-  
ρει.

for a laughing stock Captaines and corrupt Iudges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a dissolute life, naming the men upon the stage and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the shape of those whom they intended to deride. But as the state grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being cast into the sea by those, against whom he wrote his Comœdie *Rapra*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not *ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κινδυνώδης*, to name any whom they wrote his Comœdie of. Of which *H. race*,

- Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim

- Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, Chorusque

Turpiter obicit sublati jure nocendi.

*a Hermog. Partit. p. 16.*

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing lest any of their abusive wit might displease the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & instead of abusing states & people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or some part of Historie not truly written, personating the Actors so as to be most ridiculous: sometimes scoffing on the stage at mean men, and this they termed *Νέα Κωμῳδία*, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unlesse they would themselves, saies *Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *καλὸν δὲ, ἡρώδες, πλούσιον δὲ*. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the stage untill thirtie or fortie; I dispute not the matter; sure I am that *Sophocles* taught his first Tragedie at twenty eight, in which doubtlesse himselfe came on the stage. It being among the *Athenians* no disgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. *d. Emilius Pr. bus. In scenam verò prodire, & populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus (Graecis) fuisse turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld these plaies and pastimes was in the market place, where they nayled scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in Lect. 1.4. c. ult.

*b Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui medicis fortunis agunt, &c. c Athen. Rep.*

*d Praefatione ad vitas. p. 2.*

*e Meurs. Att. c.*

ancient time they had no Theater of stone, only of wood; which they call *ισία*. f *Aristophan.*

f *Theophr.*  
p. 787.

-- *Ἄνδ' ἱς ἱσίου*  
*ἡμοθέτου* ἡμῶν--

g *Casaub. in*  
*Theoph. p.*  
245.

h *Zenobius.*

i *Cort. Leo-*  
*cha. p. 617.n.*  
50,51.

l *Olynth. i.*  
p. 7.  
l *Lacon. apud*  
*Plut. Mor. p.*  
421.

m *Lib. 6. fine.*

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of money admitted any to a seat, named therefore g *Θεαῖσιν*. Once it seemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the Attick Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *eboli* (in the Consulship of *Diophantias*, a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, *ἡ Δραχμὴν καταῶσα*; because at the establishing of it, there fell haile.) This money they called *παιδαῖον*, from *παιδοῖν*: because with it they did *δαΐναι ἀπὸ πᾶσιν*, buy a seat to behold the shew exhibited. Now because the poore people had not to give, & so were deprived of the spectacle, *Pericles* desiring to be popular, made a law that they should receive out of the Cities revenues two *eboli* each man, i For the right of exacting which money, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchicall Rolles*, as appeares out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named *οἱ ἐνὶ θεαταῖς*. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warre and publike necessity, these sumes might be employed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that should attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes k *Demosthenes* desist, willing, yet not daring to perswade to convert the money to the use of the Armie. But see the folly of them! l For they spent as much on these sports as in obtaining the Masterie and liberty of Greece. And the end was miserable: for they became effeminate, and so put their necks under the Macedonian yoke. m Justin of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem amulari consueverant, in segnitie[m] torporemque resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitusque, sed in dies festos, apparatusque ludorum, redditus publicos*

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetisque the-  
atra celebrant, frequentius scenam quam castra videntes. Verifi-  
catores Oratoresque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc ve-  
ligal publicum, quo ante milites & remiges alebantur, cum ur-  
bano populo dividi ceptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut  
inter omnia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum  
nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theater I wil say little, as al-  
so of the stage: Only that the places in the Theater were not  
promiscuous. For there was a distinction between the Se-  
natours and younger sort. The Senators were named *ἡγεταὶ* <sup>η Aristoph. p. 578.</sup>  
among which it is probable the Judges had the first place,  
as *ἡ Πύλη*. The seats for the youth were called *ἑσθλαίον*. One  
part of the stage was *Ορχήστρα*, in which was *Θυμιά*, either  
a Tribunal or an Altar, That upon all their stages there was  
an Alter sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparant out of *Donat*: he saies  
it stood on one side of the stage, before the doores, *Pollux*: who  
names it *Ἀλτὴρ*. There was moreover a Table called *ἐπιστήλη*,  
on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in  
the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. <sup>p Plutarch thinks</sup>  
*Θεῶν* to be derived from *Θεός*, because that before the build-  
ing of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick* only for in-  
stitution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commen-  
dation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples. <sup>p De Musica: p. 441.</sup>





## LIBER TERTIVS.

## CAP. I.

*De Legum latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι, ἄγεςτοι & ἑνεργοί.  
 Ψηφισμα. Περὶ βέλδων. De sanciendo Legibus.*

a Lib. 2. p. 27:

b Arist. Plur.  
 pap. 67.  
 c In Thesco  
 p. 8. l. 2.

d Problem.

74. 18. 1. 2. 3. 4.  
 fol. 189. b.



S<sup>a</sup> *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government passing by the perpetuall & decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as <sup>b</sup> *Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And <sup>c</sup> *Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and constituted a *Democracie*, he reserved onely to himselfe the government of war and custodie of the Lawes. Δημοκρατίαν (περὶ τῶν) αὐτῶν μόνον ἀρχὴν πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακας χρησαμένην. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Lawes, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of <sup>d</sup> *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules



rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and playing, are supposed to be called *Nómoi*. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the *c Lydian*, *Hypæolian*, &c. *Dorick*, *Hypodorick*, &c. *Phrygian*, *Hypophrygian*, *Ionick*, &c. songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. Yet *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, lest they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it *ὁρίσας νόμον*. *Idem*. *Nómoi* δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ ἐξω πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένοι. The *Greeks*, saies *Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating *équité*, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus see we, that there were Laws of yore, let *Justin* say *Nulla civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur*; That the Citie was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Lawes. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the three hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts, saies *Ælian*, were called *ἡκούσι*. *Ἐκαστοῦ δ' ἐκείνοι δέσμοι*. Now *δέσμος*, by *Virian* is interpreted *νόμος* *ἡγεμενός* πῶς δὲ νόμος τῶν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law, And yet *Aristotle* calls them *νόμοι*, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to a *Herodicus* to say, that they were not the Lawes of man, *ἀλλὰ δράκοντος*, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *Demades*, that they were not written with black, but blood. For he punished every peccadillo almost with death, those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pothearbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man-slayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murder, intituled *ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ*. Him he had succeeded *Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

*Vide Alypi-um in Hagioge Musica.*

*In libro de Musica.*

*Loco citato pag. 437.*

*De leg. lib. 1. tol. 16 b.*

*Loco laudat. Clem. Alex.*

*P. 226.*

*Vanx hist. 1.8. c. 10.*

*Arg. orat. con. Lepti.*

*Polit. 2. c. 10.*

*Arist. Rhet. 1. 2. c. 44.*

*Plut. in Solone. p. 63. l. 2.*

*Demosth. P. 70.*

*His Lawes continued 100 years saies Plutarch in strength. In.*

*Solone p. 66.*

*& afterward by little and but decayed.*

*Ælian. Var. hist. 1. 2. c. 22.*

*If any spoke against them, he had converse.*

*all punishment.*

both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, c *Juvenal* titles *Iustum*, and for the care of the Republic, which d *Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, e *Aristophanes* termes, οὐδὲν ἄλλο, a lover of the people. f *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*: And g *Plutarch* tels us that he travelled afterwards into *Egypt*. But it seemes by h *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgment of the *Egyptian Priests*. Et *Solon adjutus sententiis Egypti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum*. i *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. First, that all the *Egyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governors of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, that payment should be made onely with the goods of the debtor, and that the body should not suffer. For they thought the estate alone to be subject to the creditor, the bodie addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country, should for usurie be committed to prison, or the country be in jeopardie for the avarice of some one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the first decree, as k *Laertius* and l *Plutarch* say, of freeing the bodies, which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut off all use, a as some write, or else b lessened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Στοιχέειν: so called from Στείν, to shake off, and ὄγκος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himselfe first, c as *Laertius*, seven talents; or, as d *Plutarch*, five. But this seemes to have been done for the avoiding of the aspersions cast upon him as accessarie to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed

much

c Sat. 10. vers.

274.

d *Kata* ὅσῳ.

Pag. 390.

e Pag. 190.

f In *Timæo*.g In *Solone*.

p. 66. l. 31.

h Lib. 22.

i Bibliotheca.

k Initio vitæ  
*Solonis*.l In *Solone*

p. 62. l. 8.

a *Plutarch*, p.

62.

b *Androtio*,

c Loco laud.

d Pag. 62. *si-*tate *Sues Po-*lyzetus *Rho-*

dius.

much money with hope of never making restitution. <sup>c</sup> *Cassan-*  
<sup>e</sup> *In Laert. p.*  
<sup>14.</sup> he was conceited, that this was not his first exploit, but long af-  
ter he had fate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it  
seems probable; There being no more compendious way to  
make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common peo-  
ple. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Lawes, did wil-  
lingly invent, and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in  
testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festival named  
<sup>f</sup> *Plutarch. p.*  
<sup>62. l. 43.</sup> *Παιδεία*. Here likewise may you observe the ancient flat-  
tery of the Athenians towards their own vices, putting gil-  
ded names on those things; which themselves were athamed  
<sup>g</sup> *Plutarch. l. 1. c. 1.*  
<sup>laudand.</sup> of calling *g* *νόμους*, *ἐταίρους*, *κόμους*, *κοινά*, *κοινὰ*, *κοινὰ* &c. as our blades name drunkenness  
good fellowship; whores, the sinners; and niggardise, thrit-  
tiness; springing from this root of Solons, who called *νόμους*  
<sup>h</sup> *Demost. p.*  
<sup>477.</sup> *νόμους* *ἐταίρους*. *h* To these Lawes two ends were pro-  
posed, mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour to-  
wards the state. *i* To curb wickedness, and unjustice; and to  
punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although  
they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we  
fity call them the Athenian Civil Law. Each Citie, as *k* *Plu-*  
<sup>l</sup> *Instit. l. 1. c. 7.*  
<sup>l. 1. c. 2.</sup> *Plinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam*  
<sup>l</sup> *quidam civile*  
<sup>ex</sup> *ex* *quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare ius civile A-*  
<sup>quidamque</sup>  
<sup>civitate appel-</sup>  
<sup>latur, veluti</sup>  
<sup>Athenensium,</sup>  
<sup>l</sup> *thensium*, *l* *Sch. Apollo.*  
<sup>Rho. l. 1. c. 4.</sup>  
<sup>m</sup> *In Avibus*  
<sup>pag. 604.</sup>  
<sup>n</sup> *Vide Plat.*  
<sup>pag. 66.</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> *ἀπὸ νόμων.*  
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<sup>παρὰ</sup>  
<sup>l. 1.</sup>  
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<sup>Rho. l. 1. c. 4.</sup>  
<sup>m</sup> *In Avibus*  
<sup>pag. 604.</sup>  
<sup>n</sup> *Vide Plat.*  
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<sup>b</sup> *Vide Non-*  
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<sup>παρὰ</sup></sup>



divide their Lawes into *ἄγραφοι νόμοι*, *ῥηθῆναι*, written and un-  
written. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus ap-  
probavit, uti.* The *ῥηθῆναι* Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. *ἔκαστος ὅτι* *In Alacem*  
*ῥηθῆναι ὁ νόμος, ὡς ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος.* A Law is a writ- *Locatum.*  
ten custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these  
there were decrees, which they termed *ἰσχυρά, ψεφισ-  
ματα*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, *ἰσχυρά τῶν* *d In Orat. pro*  
*ῥηθῆναι ὁ νόμος, ὡς ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος.* *D. mysthenes*, who means in ver- *Placco.*  
ue and power. For they differ much. f A Law maintaines ju- *e Cont. Lape.*  
stice once found, common for ever. A *ῥηθῆναι* follows *p. 295*  
the necessity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not  
warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occasion of armes, and  
as lawes can be abrogated, so degrees changed. And here  
ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater then a Law. Of  
decrees there were two sorts; *h* *ἡ τὰς πόλιν ἰσχυρά*, such as  
the senate by it selfe established, which were but of twelve  
moneths continuance; to the confirming of which, the people  
were not convoked, or their consent required, termed *i* *ῥηθῆναι* *Dem. Athen*  
*ῥηθῆναι*, which *D. mysthenes* proves to be *ῥηθῆναι*, *Ulpian.* *p. 416.*  
*ῥηθῆναι*. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which *h* *Demosth.*  
lasted but a year. *k* *Cicero.* *Qui plurimum tribunt dicto,* *ῥηθῆναι* *Demosth.*  
*Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees  
the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the  
giving of the Authority unto them, which endured in force a  
longer time. *l* *ῥηθῆναι τὰ ἰσχυρά, ὡς ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος.* *Ulpian loco*  
*100.* And therefore we may easily know a *probulemma* from a  
decree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. *ῥηθῆναι*  
*ῥηθῆναι* only, gives us to wit, that it is a *probulemma*. *ῥηθῆναι*  
*ῥηθῆναι*, in the beginning of a decree, shewes it to be *ῥηθῆναι* *Ulpian loco*  
*ῥηθῆναι ὁ νόμος ὡς ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος.* The Senate alwaies late in consulta- *m* *Ulp. in Arg.*  
tion about that which was to be enacted, whether any dam- *Orat. And.*  
nage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law com- *p. 181.* Vide  
manding that no decree should goe forth without deliberati- *Dem. p. 182*  
on. *n* *ῥηθῆναι τὰ ἰσχυρά, ὡς ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος ὁ νόμος.* Which *p. 10. v. Plur.*  
done, the *Prætor* took certain Tables and wrote on them *Solenap. 63.*  
*p. 31.*

<sup>a</sup> Sch. in Not.  
SHA. 2. pag.  
<sup>b</sup> Ulp. in  
Demp. 240.

<sup>b</sup> Demost. p.  
445.  
<sup>c</sup> Ulp. in Dem.  
1. c. c. c.

<sup>d</sup> *ἡ δὲ πρυτανία*  
Demosthen.  
Ulp. expounds  
*ἡ δὲ πρυτανία*  
to report.

<sup>e</sup> Cont. Timocr.  
p. 446.  
<sup>f</sup> Demosth.  
p. 297.

Such or such a day about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affaires: and this they called *ἡ ἐκκλησία*. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Law giver, and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be *ἐκκλησιάζειν νόμους*; which <sup>b</sup> Ulpian expounds *διδόναι νόμους, ἢ δὲ νόμους ἀλλ' ἢ νόμους*. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. <sup>c</sup> The manner was thus. Every Eleventh day of July in the assembly, after the Crier had made his Prayers, as his fashion was, and shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, and thirdly the nine Archons, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the last of the three dayes of the three Convocations. On which the Prytanes, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The Prytanes chiefe of the Assembly, were to <sup>d</sup> acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the Athenians, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgment of the Nomothete, chosen out of the Council of five hundred, was the businesse carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it in a Table, *ἐκκλησιάζειν νόμους*, Demosthenes, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statutes of the Heres before spoken of, *ἐκκλησιάζειν νόμους*, which



which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certaine  
 dies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was  
 to be handled; and if any so pleased, he might at the proposall  
 of the Law declare his mind either for, or against it, as at the  
 preferring of a Bill in our high Court of Parliament, where it  
 is not denied any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his o-  
 pinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or some part  
 thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided  
 likewise, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute,  
 should take care for the disanulling of the old, that might con-  
 tradict it, otherwise he came within the compasse of *παράνομος*  
*αγορεύς*, a writ of *Transgression of the Lawes*: which was  
 of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them,  
*παράνομος αγορεύς*. Next when one is made that adverte  
 to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the  
 people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale  
 publique, he might be questioned within a yeares space;  
 but if the time was expired, he could not. *d* Nay, they  
 slew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they li-  
 ked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Levites*,  
 among whom, he that would propose a Law, should do it, his  
 neck adorned with a halter: that if his request pleased not, he  
 straight way powred out his soule under the hands of the  
 hangman. Their Orators, which are called *εὐμαργῶν*, be-  
 cause they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery,  
 wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learn out of *f Demosthenes*,  
 and therefore are they deciphered by *g Athenius*, δι' ἁγνους  
 ἑταῖρους.

C A P. II.

*De Comitibus. Κνεία & Σύνταγμα Ἐκκλησία, &c.*

**T**He Assemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foure  
 times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they confir-  
 med



med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publique causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. in the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods and worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanæa*; the second the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the Moneth to be the day on which the first Assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanæa*, which seems truer. And whereas they both write that every Moneth there were three lawful assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth, or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanæa*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called *ἐκκλησίαι*, because in them they did *κρῖναι ἰσχύματα*, establish decrees, as the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *συνκλήτοι*, when war, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over and above those foure times in a *Prytanæa*. They are styled *συνκλήτοι*, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies, but when they would have a Convocation, some went about the City and called them. There is likewise *ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν*, when they were summoned out of the fields to goe to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful Assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *ἡ ἀριστοφάνης* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Crier—*ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀριστοφάνης*, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

g In Acharn.

pag. 371.

b In Dem. p.

445.

a In Acharn.

b Ulp. & Sch.

Arist. loc. laud.

c Pol. p. 405

d In concio-

nant. b. p. 75.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to assemblies, that the *Logistæ* were faine to throng them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, *τὰ δ' ἑκατὶς ἐκ Λεωτῶν*. Sometimes they took a rope, and dyeing it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one of the one side of the way, and the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certaine peece of money. Hence in the *Comædian*—*Καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ γονίον φέρεται τὸ χαρὶ* *ἑκατὶς*. *Up and down they shun the cord stained with Vermilion*. And again—*ἢ κίλινθ' ὃ λείψιλλοι τεύχον παρὰ γὰρ τὸ προσέβριον κίλινθ' ἥμισυ*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. Sometimes would they take Hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led to the *Ecclésiæ*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the Market, lest people intent on their traffique should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called *Διομιμαίαι*: and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man Sacrificed: which rites were called *Ἐισὶ* because they were done at the entry of the Council. *Ulpian*. *περὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰσεὶς τοῦ βουλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσιὰς ποιῶν*. will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was fate, and yet I may presume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *Aristophanes* witnessing that immediately preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named *καθαίρων*, from *καθαίρει*, which signifies cleansing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congresse of the people. After they were fate, the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, and cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a low voice

In Achar p. 106.

*Aristoph. Achar p. 371.*

Schol. *Arist. comædator.*

*Vide Arist. pag. 379.*

*Plutarch. pag. 386. l. 7 & 384. l. 34.*

*Demosth. pag. 241.*

*Vide & Ulpian pag. 351.*

*In Comædian pag. 723. A.*

*Demosth. pag. 723.*

*Id. p. 418.*

f Alcidas  
Aristoph.  
372. Diod.  
Sic. l. 15.  
g Demosth.  
29. Æschines  
contra Ctes.  
in l. 6.  
h Philopon. l.

i Plut. p. 552.  
l. 11. 17.

voice, *ἢ τίς ἀγορεύει βίβηται*; Who will make a speech; where-  
upon one of the *g* Elders arose that gave his verdict, it being  
not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend  
hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *h* Demosthe-  
nes they are stiled *βίβηται*, those that were wont to orate.  
After they had finished their saying, others had leave to de-  
clare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they had  
to exclude all private men from their Assemblies sometimes,  
when the Senate alone sat, or the *Areopagitical* Council;  
sometimes to debarre all servants, strangers, and men depriv-  
ed of their liberties from their convents, which at other  
times they admitted, and then was it called *ἡ ἀνοικία*, *ἡ ἀνοικία*  
*ἢ τὸ θεάτρον*, an open Theater to all comers. The place of  
meeting was called *πύξ*, *Πύξ*, *ἢ τὸ παρυπαρτήριον αἰεὶ ἐν*  
*ὄρεϊ*, from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on  
a rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called *πέτρα*. 345. Sch.  
*ὄρεϊ ἐν ὄρει*. There was a stipend for them that came to As-  
semblies, as you may see in *Demosth. contra Timoc.* And *ὡς*  
*ἔοικεν αἰεὶ ὄρεϊ*. Because they might be at leisure without  
dammage. *Aristot. Pol. l. c. 13.* They assembled also in *Pyraeus*  
*Ὑπὸ ἐν Δεμ.*

## CAP. III. SECT. I.

*De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de  
Senatu Παιτανεσίᾳ.*

k Plut. Solone,  
p. 60. l. 31.

**W**hen the mutinie between the faction of *Mega-*  
*cles* and *Cylo* disturbed the *Attick* Common-wealth,  
*Solon* pertwaded the people that those, whom for their auda-  
citie in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars they  
named *εταίροι*, should undergoe judgment, there were cho-  
sen *k* three hundred men, *ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα*, according to their worth,  
to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicatorie.  
For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the  
usury.

usurie money, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, *m* Aristotle sayes are more properly called *ἐπισβουλοι*, but where the Rout rules, *Βουλῆ*. But when *Clisthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed *ὁ κατασκευαστὴς τῆς πολιτείας*, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled tenne times make up the summe. This Councell by *Aristotle* is described *ἡ ἀναστασία κατὰ πάντα*. The *Missive* of *all the rest*, and I am not of opinion that *ἡ ἀναστασία* in *Plutarch* is to be understood of the *Ἀγορά*, as if that were above the Senate, but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know<sup>b</sup> one writes, *Tam dignitate, summa, quam officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinuerunt*. To this Councell none was chosen under thirty years of age; which time is stiled *Βαλδὸν καὶ ἡλικία* by *c Libanius*. And doublelesse *d Plutarch* justifies it, speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Orations against *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, *πρὸ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθὸς*, when he had not attained to the managing of state businesse, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is *e Junenus*, who saies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wise to Magistracy or Councell. Nay the *f* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us, that green heads were not permitted to speak publike-ly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

*Καὶ ὡς παρὲν ὁ γὰρ ὁ λῶν, καὶ ἐξ ὧν πῶ μοι τινῶν.*

Which to bee otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise *ἡλικασταί*, as well as *ἐπισβουλοι*, and their Tribunall *ἡλικία*, from the word *ἐλκίζω*, which

*m* Polit. lib. 2.

*63*

*b* Pollardus. false: for Paulanias calls it *μίσση*. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

*c* In Arg. orat. cont. Androt. *d* Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

*e* Stobæus. scim. 112. *f* In Nub. p. 157.

*g* Ulp. in De- mol. p. 445.

Ulp. loc. lau-  
dato, vide &  
Aristoph. Sc.  
p. 436.  
i Pag. 486.

& Dem. Orat.  
cent. Tim.

which signifies to throng together, because the People were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, *ἡ ἐν τῷ αἴθριον ἵδ' ὅ τ' ὅταν ἐπ' ἡλίου ἐκείνῳ παρὰ δαίμον*, because the place was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this *i Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, *Εἰς ἡ κατ' ὄρθρον, ἡλιαῖτος πρὸς ἥλιον*, In the morning thou shalt *ἡλιαῖτος*, in the Sun-shine. At their admission they had this Oath given them. *ἡ κατὰ τὰς νόμους, ὅτι*. I will give Sentence according to the *Laws* and *Decrees* of the People of Athens, and *Council* of Five hundred, I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither shall my approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracy of Athens by Speech or Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian Lands or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the *Laws* and *Statutes* of the Athenians and Senate of Five hundred: neither by my self, or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents for the Holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and Assistants. Neither shall the same Man bear the same Office twice, or two in one Year. I will not take Gifts for Judgement, neither my self or other for me, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant alike. I will passe Judgement aright on the thing prosecuted. I swear by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. \* There is also another Oath

1. If I transgress  
any of these, let  
me and my house  
perish, but if I  
faithfull, keep  
them according  
to my oath, let  
us be happy and  
prosperous.  
Dem. p. 470.

which they took; some Clauses whereof, we have left in Record. To ratifie the *Laws* of Solon. Plutarch in Solone, pag. 62. To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise according to the *Laws*. I will not binde any Athenian who shall give three Sureties of the same Revenues, unless for Treason, or he conspire the subversion of State Popular, or buy Custom, or be engaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless ba-  
nished.

nish'd, to be accus'd or imprison'd for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when *Thra-sybulus* gave them to Oath *ὡς μνηστικὰ ἔσθαι*, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call *ἀμνηστία*. The authority of this Council was great, for it handled causes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil businell'es and events, affairs of Con-federates, collections of Money, performance of sacred Rites, accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Pri-soners, and *δικημορία* of Orphans, as *Xenophon*. <sup>c</sup> Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of pri-vate men changed, forms of Religion established, Subsidies, Tails, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, Waights and Measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarine*. *Tutta la cura del Governo della Repubblica appartiene al Senat*, &c. The whole manner of the Common-wealths Government belongeth to the Se-nate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirm-ed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewise laid out again and trayed, &c. In a word, I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budeus* of the Parliament of *France*: *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court is most ample, and justly and equally desided all sorts of Controver-sies whatsoever. <sup>b</sup> To their Charge was committed the ma-king of new Ships, for which at the Years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes *Aristophanes*. *Πολλὰ τὸ πλοῖον; ἔνθα δὲν αἱ πηλὲς καὶ αἱ. Εἰ. Μὲν ἦν αὖτις--* without their consent could the People do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *Demosthenes*, *ἔνθα δὲν ποιεῖται τὰ δέμα καὶ εἰαί. In testimony of their prebeminence are they termed* *ἰδὲν* *ἰδὲν*, *ἰδὲν*, and *ἰδὲν* *ἰδὲν*. The Lords of Sentence. In

a Vide Xeno.

in *Exila*.

C. c. int. Phil.

1. Velleium

Paterculum. l.

2. p. 84. Arist.

Sch. in *α*.

Æschin. cont.

Ctesiph

b Athen Rep.

pag. 407.

See *Sr Thor*:

Smith in the

Commonwealth

of *England*.d As *Eranchi-*ro *Anditami*

hath translated

it. lib. 3. fol.

34. B.

a In Pandect.

P. 60. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Avib. p. 546.

d Sch. Arist. p.

93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demosth.

g Idem *α*.h Idem *α*.i Idem *α*.j Idem *α*.



b Plur. in Cimon  
p. 356. l.  
50:

† Verbo Enmi-  
us in Descript.  
Reip. Athen.

‡ Contaren.  
l. l. fol. 11. b.

time of warre they would send Commissions to their Cap-  
tains, as they thought requisite. *b* Such as in the battaile be-  
tweene the *Lacedæmonians* and their Countrymen in *Tara-*  
*gra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should  
betray them to the *Laconians*, they sent to the Commanders  
not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not  
during terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apostolius*.  
ἡ μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἑκάστῃ ἐνιαυτῷ ἀναρρίπτον *Burdler*.  
Which *Anonymus* in *Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by  
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διελέγετο. The manner of choosing them is this.  
The chiefe of every Tribe, on an appointed day before the  
beginning of the Moneth *Hecatombaion*, brought the names  
of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignitie, and cast  
them written into a vessell, and into another they put an hun-  
dred white Beanes, and all the rest blacke; Then drawing  
out a Name, and then a Beane, to whose chance the white  
Beane fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Sena-  
tor. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and so  
foure hundred Senatours. But when they had tenne Tribes  
there could bee but fifty white Beanes, to the making up of  
the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the ele-  
ction observed by the *Venitians* upon the fourth day of *De-*  
*cember*, when the names of all the young men that have not  
by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed twenty five  
yeares old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince and  
there the same set before the Councillors, with which there  
is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the num-  
ber of the names written in the first, every one having his  
markes: the fift part of these balls is gilded with gold, the rest  
with silver. The Prince taketh out of the first pot the ball,  
which if it be of the golden sort, the young man whose name  
is drawne, is presently admitted to publique authority; they  
to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it  
the ensuing year, unless in the meane space they accomplish  
twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake

of



of the Cities liberties. So every yeare the fift part of the yon-  
 kers is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use  
 in choosng I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentike  
 Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by  
*Clisthenes* according to their Tribes, so by his successors. For  
 when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred,  
 by reason of the Tribes *Antigenis* and *Demetrias*, after named  
*Antis* and *Ptolemis* in honour to the Kings of that name  
 which were Benefactours to the State; *a* *Θειν κ' βελω πρτα* <sup>*a* Stephanus</sup>  
*κωτων ηται, εξακοσιων ητοιηται.* *b* Out of these were their Jud- <sup>*b* Arist. Schol:</sup>  
 ges chosen; but such as were about three score years old. For <sup>P. 37.</sup>  
 although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none  
 judged under that age. *εισηγοντο αν εις τω εκατοσιν, εκ ετι*  
*κατω 3.* To these was any businesse referred, of which the  
 Senate and people were in suspense what to determine. *c* *A-* <sup>*c* In Vespisip.</sup>  
*ristoph* *τιτι δ' η βαλη χ' 'α δ' ημ' θ' εταν χριται μεγα παζγμ', ετοιη-* <sup>471.</sup>  
*α ε ληζιται παδ αδικουτας τοις δικασται παραδουεν.* When the  
 Councill and people are in doubt how to judge a great mat-  
 ter, They decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And  
 no marvell. For the office of a Judge is *κωρον κριτων*, preroga-  
 tive in sentence, sayes *d* *Aristotle*, that is, to state those Que-  
 stions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their gi- <sup>*d* Pol. L3. c. 12.</sup>  
 ving sentence before the third yeare of the ninety second O-  
 lympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their  
 own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being former-  
 ly tenne Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, and  
 to which one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I  
 cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the  
*Syracusans* concerning the Prielt of *Jupiter*, who taking the  
 names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into  
 a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that  
 sacred Function. But of our own mult I speake. *f* When then <sup>*f* Aristophan.</sup>  
 they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with  
 him a Table and a Wand on which was written a Letter that  
 did betoken some Judicatory ( For there being ten Tribunals

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, &c. to K. over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A was taken out, sat in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Prætor* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit, and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or staff: because that

g Suidas pro-  
verb.

h Sch. Aristop.

πλ. 30.

a In Equites.

pag. 301.

b In Nubes pag  
174.

c Appendix

Vaticana.

d Zenobius.

e Sch. Aristop.

pag. 487.

f Vlp. in Dem.

P. 343.

g Afmaria

Act. 1. p. 54.

g Βεκτηρία ἢ ᾗ α ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἡ τελεῖται, was a Proverb used in dirision of the Judges. h This staff at the days end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the a Sto-  
liast teaches us otherways, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* Words the Oratour, Ωλέοντες ἡμᾶς αἱ, οὐκ ἐγὼ βόσκω - *Indes* which I feed. Their pay was not always the same, ἐχέειν, blays the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *obolus*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb c ὀβολὸν δὲς Παρπύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word καὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, it may be for a pretty sum of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of ὀβόλος ἡλιασμός one, and anon πρὸς βόλος three, a e *Drachme* to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall adde.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whole office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table, in which it was written f Κατηγόρησθε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖτε διὰ τοῦ δέου ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation, to which g *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt* - when this Note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witnesses

witnesses, and would prosecute the matter, who answering that he intended it, had thereupon Authority to summon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himself, or other, called therefore *κλητὴς*, *b* for *καλῶς* is ἡ εὐχὴ. *b* Sch. Arist. 190.  
*καὶ παραγγή*, a bringing into suit. *καλῶν* ὁ δὲ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word signifies a witness also. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they bad any that stood by to testify that they had admonished them. *ἡ κλητὴς δὲ ἐκ καλῶντος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντες σπουδαῖν· ἢ ἡ ἀξιόχρεος καὶ ὁ μαρτυρεῖται.* You may use *κλητὴς* for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiff, or the like. Sometimes they would run straight to the Court, as it were headlong, in *Demosthenes* his phrase, sometimes the Suitor would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may see out of *l Aristophanes*. *καὶ ὁ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον* But if the party could put in two *ἀξιόχρεους*, sufficient to Bail, he was dismissed. Hence in the *m Comædian*. *ἀλλ' ἔγγυθις σικκαταστήτω δὲ ἂν ἀξιόχρεος.* I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties. Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance; that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in ius*, at which time, if the Defendant were not personally at the Judgement-seat, he came within compass of *ἐρήναι*, a *Writ of Exemodicium*, refusal to come in and answer, Which was avoided by suing for a *μὴ ὕστα* in tenne days after. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indistincta causa* so *a Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήναις καταδικασθῆναι, by this therefore the case was renewed, and stood as at first, the Sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this was it termed *μὴ ὕστα*, *b* ὅτι περὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἡ κακουργία, ὅτε ἐν εἰς τὴν μὴ ἔδωκεν, because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing. The businessse then made anew, the party that was cast by an *ῥήμα*, after that he had obtained a *μὴ ὕστα*, was *c* within two Moneths to set the Law on foot, which they term *ἀνὰ πρῶτον δίκην*, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unlesse upon good grounds, was liable

*b* Sch. Arist. p. 442.

*ἐπὶ κισθαλίᾳ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βασιλεύει.* p. 596. n. 17. *l* In Vespis pag 437. *m* Arist. Con- cilio. p. 755.

*a* In prioris & Post. No. ad Pand. *b* Vlp. in Dem. p. 343.

*c* Pollux. l. 8. p. 320.

liable to *ἑλβερεῖν* *ἡ δὲ*, a Writ of molestation for a false cause. Having thus farre proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call *ἀντιγραφὴν*, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed *ἐπεδῆματα*, *ἐπεδῆματα*. They tooke this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athen* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is *πικρὰ*, they made a Law, that whosoever accused and had not the fit part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certaine summe, which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his abilitie reached not so farre, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphæ*, testimonies were also delivered (formes of which you shall often meet with in *D. mosthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in these words *ἡ ταῖς δὴ ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας*, that he would justly accuse. *ἡ ταῖς δὴ ἀπορίας*, that he would according to Truth make his Apologie: and this they name *καὶ τοῦ αἰτιώματος*. These writings were cast into a certaine coffer, forth comming as occasion should require: All which *Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. *ἀντιποιεῖς καὶ προσλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας* *ῶντων*. They joyned or put together oathes, citations, and testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiasts minde, who will have *προσλήσεις* to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *προσλήσεις*, is *κατηγορεῖν*, *εἰς ἑλκεν*, to accuse, *εἰς δίκασιν*, *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, *καὶ τοῦ αἰτιώματος*, *ἡ μαρτυρίων ἀποχρήσις*. The chest or coffer was called *ἐχίνος*; and of this are the words of the Greek Oratours to be understood *οἱ εἰς ἐχίνον βάλλοντες*. *p Theophrastus* of a mad man that would entangle himselfe in any thing, *ἐχίνον* *ὅτι τὸ προσκολληθῆναι, καὶ ὁρμαδὴς γαστριματρικῆς ἐστὶν*. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pellux* makes a different exposition of this oath from that

d *Tuscan* *ἡ δὲ*  
 f *ἡ δὲ* *ἡ δὲ*  
 Demosth. p. 628.  
 e *Arist. Nub.*  
 p. 154 v. Sch.  
 f *Demosth. p. 716.*  
 n. 7.

g *Arist. Schol.*  
 p. 170.

h *Unum contra*  
*Stephan. ἡ δὲ*  
 a p. 622. aliud  
 p. 624 629.  
 i *Sch. Arist.*  
 Vesp. 505.  
 k *In Vesp. p.*  
 467. 506.  
 l *In Vesp. p.*  
 504.  
 m *Sch. Arist.*  
 239.  
 n *Idem p. 195.*  
 o *Demosth.*  
 622. n. 33.  
 629. n. 80.  
 640. n. 2.  
 655. n. 65.  
 665. n. 66.  
 p *Charact.*  
 q *ἡ δὲ* *ἡ δὲ* p. 21

that which other Grammarians do, confounding, as is most probable, the *πρωμοσία* & *ἐντιμοσία* with *δωμοσία*. For *πρωμοσία* is that first oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute the party prosecuted to answer, which on the defendants side was called *ἐντιμοσία*, and generally on both *Δωμοσία* was a Sacrament taken by both, the impleader that he did *απεξέντα δώκεν*, follow the delinquent in law: the defendant *ὡς ἢ ἐπεξέντο ποδάρκην*, to stand stilly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *dvlpian* makes both these one, after this were they that sued on another admitted to the Judicatory it being first demanded of the suiter *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capitall it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed *d' Ανάκρισις*. If then anything was deficient the judgment was prorogued by an *e' εστωμοσία* or oath, which the Plaintiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things were ready, & at hand they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were noe Laws, according to conscience and equity (which the greeks call *γνώμην δικαιοσύνης*) *h* and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seemes to have beene taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones ( of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i* *Plutarch* *ἵππον ἀπὸ κορυφῆς περὶ* The oath is called *ἀμφορομία*. Then went the Judges to their seates *k* neatly spread with mats in Greek *ψιθά* and *ψιδοί*, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *λευτάς τε ἔξω* they sate down for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the *Romanes*, with lettuce I suppose, by them called

*a* Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 505.

*q* In Demost. p. 287.

*c* Vide Vlpian in Dem.

pp. 347. 341.

*d* Budin Annot. Rel. ad Pan. p. 341.

*e* Vlpian in Demost. p. 226.

*the* Scho. of Aristoph.

*Make it the same with*

*επωμοσία.*

*πλ.* p. 75.

*f* Vlpian. in Demost. 341.

*g* Pollux. l. 8. pag. 406.

*h* Dem. pag. 628.

*i* Pag. 122.

*k* Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.

*l* Demosth.

m Pollux lib.  
2. p. 407.

n Pollux loco  
cirato.

This is  
περιχρίσμα  
Pollux.

p Pag. 485.

a Plutarch in  
Vita.

b Aristoph.  
pag. 494.

c Aristoph.  
Sch Ibid.

d πρὸς πρυ-  
ταίνων. p.  
567.

e Boemus De  
Costhumi del  
le Genti lib.

1. cap. 5.

\* Arist Rhet.  
1. 1. c. 33.

f Stmar. 1.  
pag. 10226.

g In Bruto.

called m *αργεωτά* Cancellate, by the Greekes *αγκλίσ*,  
n though *αγκλίσ* more properly signifies the doer of the *δ*.  
*αρεσνεία* before which was o a rope of 50 feet length drawn,  
and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who  
had business. The partition I think was but weak, & there-  
fore by *Demosthenes* called. *ἀδενὴς αγκλίσ*. Within which  
none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore  
when a *Demosthenes* did long to hear *Callistratus* plead con-  
cerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogus* that he  
would bring him, where he might have the hap; insse to  
be an auditor. The *Pædagogus* therefore acquainted with the  
publique officers that opened the doores, *πρὸ ὁρίωντος π*  
*δικασθεία δημοσίου* procured him a place where he might  
hear and not be seen, *ὅν ἦν αγκλίσ* *ἀδενὴς ἀκρόσεται*. When  
the Judges had gone within the bars, least any should be  
wanting the *Præco* cried b *Ἐἰ τις θύεισιν ἡλιασὴς, νόστον*, if  
any Judge be without the doore of the place of Judgment,  
let him enter. c Because if any came after the case began to  
be pleaded he could not have admision. Being then seated  
the Crier read the inditement, *ἔγκλημα* (a copy of some part  
of which you have in d *Demosthenes*. *ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΥΔΟΣ*  
*ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣΕΜΟΙ*; &c (in which according to the cu-  
stome of e the old Egyptians; were given up to the court in  
writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received &  
the manner of it, with an estimation of the dammages; The  
severall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, least the  
Impleader and defendant should swerve from what they  
had in hand. Thē stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left  
hand of the Tribunal, & spake an accusatory oration, made  
for the most part by some of the Attick Oratours. which use  
brought in by \* *Antiphon the Rhamnusian*, f *Clemens of A-*  
*lexandria* calls *δικανὴς λόγος* *ἡς ἐκδοσιν γεγραπὴν* g *Cicero*,  
*scribere aliis causas; quibus in judiciis uteretur*, such as *Lyfias*  
is reported to have done for *Socrates*. Which least it should  
exceed in length, was limited to a certeine time, by a vessell,  
in



in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run  
 as sand doth in our houer-glasses, thence called κλέψυδρα  
 into which was poured an equall measure of water; & least  
 there should be deceit, there was an officer made for that  
 purpose named *h* Εφύδωρ, ὁ περρυλάτων ἢ ἰσότητα τὴν κλε-  
 ψύδρα filling alike for the Impleader and answerer: *i* when  
 therefore the glasse was runne, it was not lawfull for them  
 to speake farther. *k* nay for scantnes of time they were cō-  
 pelled to passe by many things: & for that reason were they  
 chary of their water, bidding that it should be stoped at the  
 reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demosthenes* intimates  
 in Σδ' ἐπιλαβὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ὥστε ἀπὸ λαμβάνειν is to stop the nose  
 in *l* *Aristophanes*. *m* *Apuleius*. At tu interea dum legit, a-  
 quam suture. *Pancirollus*. Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, am-  
 plius sibi dicendi præbita foret facultas, least he might not  
 have leave to speak any more; if the water were spent if any  
 would give way to another to speake while this glasse was  
 running he might which *Dem.* testifies, ὅτι πῶς ὁμῶς ὕδωρ λαλῶν  
 But if he would not permit it; he bad the *Prætor* cast it forth  
 αὐτῆς τὸ ὕδωρ. *Ulpian*. Tu τίς ἐν ἐκκαλλε, Frō which kind of  
 pleading it grew into a proverb *b* περὶ τῆς κλεψύδρας *c* *Cicero*  
*ad clepsidram*, to speak by the houre or allotted time. His  
 speech being ended, he sate down. *d* The defendant then  
 sitting all that while over against him, untill he had finished  
 after addressed himself to his answer which he made from  
 the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, &  
 station; For this reason saies *Aristotle*, because they would  
 make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better  
 part, they gave the uper hand to the defendant. Or because  
 ἐκ δεξιῶν or defendats, were for the most part in custody;  
 If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendāt  
 stood there also, Thence then he pleaded for himselfe, in  
 which plea, he was only to wipe out those accusatiōs which  
 his adversary laid against him, *φύλον κατηγορηθέντων λύσιν*  
*πῶς*, & in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might

*h* Pollux l. 8.  
*p.* 4. 4.  
*i* Vlpian. in  
 Dem. p. 356.  
*k* Demosth.  
 περὶ Βοιωτ.  
 p. 589.

*l* In Pluro.  
*m* Apologia.

*a* Demosth.  
 ὑπὲρ πορρ.  
*b* Aristoph.  
 pag. 617.  
*c* Tuc. Qu.  
 l. 2. in fine.  
*d* Vlpian in  
 Dem. 226.  
*e* Problem.  
 περὶ δικαιο-  
 σύλου καὶ δ-  
 δικίου.

*f* Vlpian in  
 Demosth. p.  
 51.



g Loco lau-  
daro.

b Demosth.  
219.

i Clemens  
Aland These  
had certain  
pettifoggers  
under them,  
that admini-  
stred the  
Lawes and  
forms of a-  
llon Cicero  
apud Græcos  
infini homi-  
nes mercedu-  
lâ adlucti mi-  
nistros se  
prebent in  
iudiciis Ori-  
tonibus is,  
qui apud illos  
τεγγμαστικοί  
vocantur.  
b Cornelia-  
nule at Ari-  
com. l. 1. c. 3.  
i Vid. e Læ-  
tium in vita  
eius,

object what he would; nay and as g Aristotle, forecast al be-  
fore he commenced his suit. & feigned to himselfe what he  
pleased; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant  
to clear himselfe, b either by witnesse, or probabilities, of  
all doubts whatsoever the plantif could cast in. Sometimes  
the plaintiff and Defendant would desire Advocates of the  
Judges Συνηγοροι, hence i ἐν μὲν ὁ Κυνηγορὶν to plead for a  
lee. In the time of their pleading, witnesses were called,  
who came in, and gave their testimonies; and after they had  
uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it  
seemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and  
swore. k Cicero. *Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctiē*  
*graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publice, & ut mos*  
*Græcorum est; iurandi causa ad aris accederet, una voce omnes*  
*Judices, ne is iuraret, reclamasse.* They report that in Athens  
wh n a certaine man (Lænocrates) who had lived Godly &  
gravely among them, had given witnesse and as the fashion  
of the Greeks is, approached to the Alter to take oath, all  
the Judges with one voice cried that he should not. They  
would not it seemes, have belief rather be bound with re-  
ligion then truth ) Fit to this is the answer of Periclesto a  
friend of his desiring him μαρτυρῆν ψευδῆς to testify a lye;  
which he was to avouche with an oath, I am your friend,  
quoth he, to the Alter, that is as farre as conscience, religi-  
on and honesty shall permit; hence ἀχει βωμὸν φίλῳ ὅδε ἵσθι;  
ad Aris, grew I suppose to be a proverb. Plut. *Apophth. p.*  
112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I  
cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were  
wont to touch the tips of the eare ( for reason to me un-  
known; ) called λεῖκοι from λαμβάνειν, Etymologicon; (But I  
rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the  
Plaintif was wont to pluck his witnesse by the eare, for re-  
membrance sake. Horace lib 1. Sat. 9. *Licet attestari? ego ve-*  
*ro oppono auriculam--* To which Virgill looked, saing Cy-  
thius aurem vellet & admonuit. Eclog. 6. ) and at the end  
thereof

hereof with all destruction to themselves and house if they  
deale fallily. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ  
ἡ δὲ μαρτυρεῖν, of fallie witnessse, and he that suborned them  
μαρτυροῦν. Sometimes the witnessse was not present at the  
doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-say,  
which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοή, as μακροῦ τελευτηκότων  
whē they take it from those that are dead which went for  
current and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from  
the mouth of one that was alive and within the territories  
of Athens, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were  
discarded the liberties of the City, ἀπώτοι, or servants, or any  
man in his owne cause. a The manner of witnessse was two-  
fold, either by personall appearance & testifying οὐτε παρό-  
ντος and then he was called μαρτυς, in no case lyable to the  
law, ἡ δὲ δίκη or else by writing, by which he offered him-  
selfe to his questions or attachments in law against whom  
he witnesssed, if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία. Both  
parties being heard & the altercation ceased the *Proco* cri-  
ed, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right.* (So they inter-  
pret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) let him cast in the black stone, or holy  
law, to whom he seemeth not the whole or white. For we must  
know that anciently the Greekes gave their sentences with  
black and white pebbles called βραχίονες (which the French  
semblably terme *Porcellanes* χεῖρ or *porcus*) *Ovid*

m Demosth.  
pp. 619. 934.

a Vlpian in  
Demosth.  
238.

b Aristoph.  
438.  
c Metamorph  
15. E. 1.

*Miserat antiquis, nixis atrisque Lapillis:*

*Hic damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.*

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with  
black to condemne the accused. Pertinent to which is the  
saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go  
home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe  
thither, whence he was never like to escape; when one as-  
ked ἡ δὲ πρὸς τῷ παρὲς ἢ ἄρα σὺ κείνῳ; Wilt thou not trust  
thy country which begat thee to be thy judge? ἡ δὲ τῷ μὲν  
διποθ he ἀδίκημα γὰρ μὴ ἰγνώσκειται ὅτι σφαλεῖται τῷ ἀληθῆ. ἢ  
ἀίματι ἐμὲ ἀλλ' ἂν τῆς λαοκῆς ἔσθω No not her that brought

Flon Varr.  
lib. 13 c 38  
Plut. Mor: p:  
me 140.

me forth. For I fear least shee being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, mistake the black for the white stone. The black made *tristem sententiam*, and was so named; the sad sentence; the white *candidam* or acquiting. They used likewise black & white beans; in respect of which *Pythagoras* is

thought to have spokē at a riddle *καυαυς μή ἰσθίην* not to eat beans, by *e Nonnus* interpreted *μὴ περὶ δίδοντας τὸ δίκαιον δωρὶ δοκῆδ' ἑχρήματιν*. Not to undermine justice with bribes or that men should get by the perverting of equity. I see no reason, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *φυλακτορὺς* in *Aristoph.* is by the Scholiast expounded *δικῶνς, & καυαυς*. *τρώσαν* is used for a Judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of brass;

The bloody ones of them were peirc'd through, therefore termed, *β τερπημύλαι*; the saving were whole, *ἀτροποι*. Of these every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the *ψήφους*, or bals they intimated by a transposition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to passe sentence at the *Præco* caried about the *Κάδον* or *Καδίσκον*, a certain pitcher (for so *Xenophon* calls it, *ῥδέαν*) having on the mouth of it a conveyance like a Tunnell, named *κημὶς*, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more; & therefore were they to touch the *ψήφον* only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* *Τὸς τρεῖς λωίζων ἅδ' ἑκατόν, ἀνις α*). But we must know that the black and white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of brass called *πῶπις* whether because the first threw into it their voices, or because it may signify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being

wooden

*e* In Naz.  
Stelit *ιζ*.

*f* Pagina 290.  
*g* Lyfistrata.  
p. 270.

*h* Polux. l. 8.  
pag 407.  
Ulpian. in  
Dem. 490.  
*i* Ulpian in  
Dem p. 162.

*a* Aristoph.  
585.  
*b* Pag. 263.

*c* Pag. 439.  
vide Scholiast  
*d* Aristoph.  
Vespis 507.

wooden isse. After the Crier had gon round with both, because some would keep their bals & for favour not give their voice against a friend or great person, therefore he cried *εἰς τὴν δ' ψῆφον* & *ἀνιστάσθω* who hath not cast in his ball? Let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out & numbered them and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whose vessell (for there were as many set as the number of the litigants came to) had most; got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood by with a rod, & laid it over those that were told, least they should mistake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For so were they wont to doe; thence named *ψηφοκλήτται*. Which *g* Tuer objects to Menelaus about Ajax, when by his deceit the armour was given to Ulysses; & therefore he calls him *κλήπτης ψηφοποιόν*. Sch. *δύλιον κείτω*; not amisse *ψηφοκλήπτης*. When the number was known, if the white or solid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands and drew a short line, as a token of absolution, if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence *ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν* may be used, for to condemne every body. The thing it selfe they termed *κἀλοκίζον* as Aristophanes. By this the one party being overthrown (as none ever was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what damages he should pay, which they terme *ἐπυγράφειν*. *in* Plutarch *δυναταὶ πτωχεύειν* ἐν δὲ τῇ *δικῶν ἐπύγραψαν* & *ὦν* For it was a use of old for those that went to law to make agreements I know not whether by oath, for they did swear by three Gods *Κύβερν, Εὐχάσθεον* and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would stand to such and such conditions, before sentence, that he that was cast should undergoe somewhat; & afterwards *ἐπὶ πύργῳ*, that is, set down what los of limbs or life or means &c. for although they did *ὀνειχεῖσθαι* give their estates as pledges to answer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be lesse or more then the fine. There was in

*a* Aristoph.  
Vespis.

*f* Schol. Naz.  
in *σμλ.*  
*g* Sophocles  
Atacc. p. 68.  
*h* Schol. Arist  
438.

*i* Aristoph.  
Vesp loco.  
cit.  
*k* Pag. 471.  
*l* Aristoph. p.  
472.  
*m* *βίβλις* p. 7.  
*p* 454.  
*n* Schol. Arist  
in *ωλ* pag.  
50.

*o* Schol. Arist.  
742.

a Contaren:  
de Rep. Ven:  
lib. 3:

b Apolog:  
Socr: p. 265.  
c De Orat: 1.  
fol. 61. b.

d Laertius in  
Socrat. p. 115

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Aristoph. p.  
244.

i Probl. 7μη.  
xθ.

in causes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*; where they gave two sentēces. In the first they determined whether they should condemne or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second. But if in the first they found no cause of death, they bad the accused to fine himselfe, which *d Xenophon* intimates by *ὑπομῆν*, & if it were too little the Judges doubtlesse made it more, as the *Scholiat* of *Aristophanes*; if I forget not: The custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*: *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus est &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those which by the appointment of the laws they were to give the second time. For in *Athens* the accused being found guilty if the offence were capital, they weighed and considered the penalty. When the sentence was to be given by the Judges they asked the defendant, what he thought himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In tryall if there be more for the prisoners liberty, the against him, he is streight acquitted, but if more then half be in the pot of condemnation he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him, then on his side; & at the next eighty more were added to the form r, so in all he had three hundred threescore & one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in *d Demobeltines* of *Cimon* like to punished with death *ἔξ τῆς νόου ψήφου* if there had not been wanting. And againe *στῆς τῆς νόου ψήφου διώσεν τὸ μὴ θανάτω τιμῆται*. Nay one was sufficient, *g Demosthene*. *Μία μόνον ἀλῶνα ψήφω*. But *Ulpian* on the place *ὅς οὐ μικρὸν διδόναι τιμωρίαν*, saies that he was lightly punished. *h* If the voices were equall, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspicion; or of those things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was sued out of envy, and many other reasons given by *Aristotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

[illegible]



*k* Pudarus in  
in Pand. No.  
Relig. p. 31.  
*l* Demost. in  
Mid. 347.

*m* Contr. An-  
dro. 383.

*n* Dem. p. 406.

the accused was (as among the *Romans*, whence *k* *Rei pendu-  
li*) exposed in a publique Table to the view of all men; which  
they terme *ἐκκλήσις*. *Demosthenes*. *ὡς ἐκκλήσις ἦν ἐν τῷ  
αὐτῷ*. *Ulpian*. *ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐκκλήσει*. You see here the place  
too, viz. at the Statutes of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was con-  
victed, all that they objected to him was but *αἴτις*, by *m* *De-  
mosthenes* termed *ἡρὸς λόγος*, a bare report, but after prooſe  
*ἐλέγχος*. *ὅταν δὲ ἀνίστην πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρὶς ὁμολογῇ*. After judg-  
ment paſt, *ἡ δὲ δίκη*. An inditement of sacriledg, theft,  
murder, treason, is but *αἴτις*; the evidence and conviction  
makes it *ἐλέγχος*, the sentence *δίκη*.

## CAP. III. SECT. II.

*De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Arcopagitæ.*

**O**N the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the  
*Areopagus*, in the old Translation of the Acts of the A-  
postles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars his  
Street*, falsely. For *τὸν* beares not that signification, but  
what *b* *Justin Martyr* interprets, *ὁ ὑψηλὸς τὸς*, an eminent  
place. *ἐν ᾧ ὁ χυθὺν τὴν λῶν ἐκείνου τὸ δικαστήριον*. For that Judica-  
tory was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c* *Æschylus*, &  
*d* *Euripides*, *Ἀρεὸς ὄρος*, by *e* *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavoris*, and  
*f* *Ennius*, *Arcopagitica peira*: so called, as fond Antiquitie  
would have it, *g* from the judgment of the twelve Gods  
upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonne of *Neptune*.  
But *b* *Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of advou-  
tery, *ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου δίκην ἐποιεῖν*. But alike true. It pleases me  
well to consider the superstition of the ancients, that conse-  
crated high places to their deities, and erected the statues of  
their Gods upon hills. As *i* *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,  
*a* when *Tul-*  
*lius* had divided  
the Roman hill,  
he made one high  
bits and places  
fortified by na-  
ture, & fuges for  
the husbandmen  
and called them  
*πύργους*.  
*Dion. Hal.* 4.  
Not as if it  
signified a vil-  
lage, but as it  
was situated:  
For *Pagus*  
*villa rustica*  
comes from  
*πῶς*. Because  
built near a well. *Peior*. *b* In Acta p. 136. *c* Eumenidib. p. 296. *d* Elect. p. 836. *e* Meta-  
morph. l. 6. fab. 2. *f* Vid: Scalig. in conject. *g* Demost. 413 *Paul.* p. 126. *Simcon*. Met. & *Pachynt*.  
in vii. *Dionys.* *Arcopag.* *Loc.* *ciatoni* *Paul.* *Attic.* p. 31.

whence



whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Anchesmus*. And as  
in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill *Νηυσίων & πύργος*, *Saturne* ano-  
ther *Κεραυνώ*, *Pan* another. *Πανδός*, *Mercury* another, <sup>4 Eumenid. p. 290.</sup>  
*Ερμής*, to *Mars* his *Areopagus*. k *Eschylus* gives it a nomi-  
nation from the *Amazons*, sacrificing to *Mars* there, when  
they came & fought against *Theseus*. Or if you will receive the  
opinion of others, it takes the name from the cases in it hand-  
led, of blood wilfully shed: to *Hyschius*, *ἡσυχίας*, That  
when *Julius* calls it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, <sup>l Sarr. p. v. 100</sup>  
*The Court of Murder*, but willingly committed. This is ter-  
med by the *m Tragedian*, the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend <sup>m Eschylus pag. 297.</sup>  
counsel, then which nothing is more constant (saies *n Tully*, <sup>n Ad Atticum. l. i. Ep. 11.</sup>  
comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more severe as <sup>o De bello Tro. l. 6 p. 147.</sup>  
by *o Pseudo Dictus Cretensis* it is stiled *Judicium severissimum*  
*per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, <sup>p Ar. c. 1. p. 448.</sup>  
more just, or honest, saies *p Xenophon*. q *Plutarch* writes that  
this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and *r Cicero* received the  
like opinion, but that seems to contradict it, which *Plutarch*  
presently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who  
had lost their liberties should be restored again, unless they  
were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Eph.æ*, *Prytanes*, *Basi-*  
*leis*, of murder, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was ena-  
cted. And by and by, *ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἐπὶ Σόλωνα*, &c. \* Who <sup>f Loc. laudato.</sup>  
were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he first  
instituted the *Areopagites*.) t Others are of opinion, that *Solon*  
added the *Areopagites* to the *Eph.æ* (Judges so called, because <sup>t Pollux. l. 9. p. 407.</sup>  
when formerly the *Basileis* made inquisition after murder  
unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it *ἐπὶ ἡμῶν*, that is, tran-  
slated it to the *Eph.æ*, their number was but fifty one. And  
though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little and little  
they became ridiculous.) n *Possardus* saies, he abolished their  
severity, and substituted the *Areopagites*. But <sup>u De Athen. Mag. p. 446.</sup>  
more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, <sup>u De Rep. A- then. p. 20.</sup>  
but brought it into a better forme, made it more strong and  
firm, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems  
lessened

a Vide *Maxi-*  
*num* in Pro-  
 leg. ad S. Di-  
 onys. opera &  
 N. ceph. lib. 2.  
 in vita Dion.  
 c Pachymen-  
 d Ifoc, in Arc-  
 opag. p. 133.  
 e Loco supra  
 laudato.  
 f Arthid. l. 2.  
 g Anonym. in  
 Argu. Oratio.  
 Androtia.  
 h They were  
 of those Magi-  
 strates that  
 were chosen  
 by Lot, as the  
 Archon, The-  
 smothetæ,  
 Basilæus, Po-  
 lemarchus, for  
 which cause  
 Pericles was  
 not of that  
 number be-  
 cause he never  
 attained to  
 these offices.  
 Plut. in Peric.  
 p. 113.  
 i Anonymus  
 loco laudat.  
 De statu Ita-  
 liæ adversus  
 Machiavel.

lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; Solon  
 restored that authority and made it greater. b To this compa-  
 ny none were admitted, but wise, wealthy, and noble men;  
 c famous for good life, and innocency, *τὸ ἐπὶ αἰσὶ ἀρετῆων*,  
 whom no man could justly charge of misdemeanour. Nay,  
 men, whose behaviour was intolerable, *δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἄλλοις ἀρε-*  
*ματιν ἀρετῶν ἔχοντες*, after they were chosen into the Colledge  
 of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former  
 dispositions, *οὐκ ὄντες τῇ αὐτῇ χρεῖᾳ*, changed their natures, &  
 embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain. c *Nic-*  
*phorus* makes them but nine, as *Maximus* too out of f *Philo-*  
*chorus*; *Pachymenius* fittie and one. But what *Maximus* pro-  
 duces after, is somewhat, that they consisted of fifty and one,  
 beside the Nobility most wise and rich. *πάλιν ἱεὺς Εὐπατριδῶν*  
*ἐλάττω* ἢ *ἑπὶ αὐτοῖς* *δεδεῖν* ταῦτα. By which words he seems  
 to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, g who when they had gover-  
 ned one year, and given an account of their offices, and had  
 admittred all things justly, were chosen yearly into this so-  
 ciety. For which election annuall, the number was doubtfull.  
 For some might die in that space; or all live, and in the next  
 year be encreased. *Volaterran* out of an old inscription in  
*Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; *τῶ ἀνμύριον*  
 &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, *Proconsull* of *Greece* &  
*Areopagite*, the councill of *Areopagus* consisting of three hun-  
 cred; and the people of *Athens* set up this monument for a tes-  
 timoniall of his good will and benevolence. But that might on-  
 ly happen when this was erected. h They continued all their  
 life time in this dignity, and were never put out, *εἰ μήτις*  
*καλῶς ἡκούσῃ*, unlesse for some grand offence. i *Bozins* tells us  
 (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Atheniensis*  
*olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he, did strive to challenge to  
 themselves the prerogative of wisdom, and to them is it  
 bent what the *Apoitie* saies, *The Greeks seek after wisdom*.  
 Nevertheless their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all  
 things consisted of Iudges that were Priest, and the High Priest

Priest of all that asked every of their sentences, took the suffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For *k* they were overseers of all, *l* Judges of wilfull murders, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him who they hated, upon an action of battery, as *m* *Mantitheus* against *Bautis*. They sate upon incendiaries, and impositions, if the party died that took their doses. *a* They saw that the Laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. *c* In a word all great delinquencies came under their censures. They inquired into the behavours of men: & we read in *dXinophon* that they sharply reproved a young man for his loose living. *ναινετον* extremely selfish. It is quoted likewise by *Athenaeus*, *Dipnosophist*. *e* *Valerius Maximus*. *Est & ejusdem urbis sanctissimum consilium Areopagus &c.* There is likewise in that City the most sacred Councel *Areopagus*, where they were wont most diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did by what gaine he maintained himselfe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty. *g* The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of necessity they medled not with state affaires, but it seems otherwise. For if any one say, quoth *b* *Tullie*, that the *Attick* Republique can be well governed, without the counsel of the *Areopagites*; he may as well say that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Persians* invaded *Greece*, *i* by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themistocles* purchased an everlasting memory of a victory. And when their publique Treasury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drachmes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advise, when they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l* *Aristotle*, *κοινον* to give strength and sinewes to the

*k* Plutarch. Solon. p.63.

*l* Aelian. Var. d. 15.c.15.

*m* Dem. p.406.

*n* Demost. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτῶν ἀδικημάτων.

*a* Dem. p.445.

*b* Pachymet. c. In Sympe.

*c* In Sympe.

*d* Xenophon. c. 1.

*e* Valerius Maximus. l.4. p.167.

*f* Athenaeus. l.4. p.167.

*g* Aristides. T.1. p.331.

*h* Anon. Arg. Orat. Androt.

*i* De natura Deorum. 2.

*j* Est enim bellum gestum consilio Senatus ejus. Cicero Off.1.

*k* Plutarch. in Themistocl.

pag.84.l.3.

Com-  
i Poli. l.5.c.4.

m. Hierocles  
Recop. 132.

n. Lucr. lib. 1.  
m. Aristoph.  
Pag. 154.

a. Symeon  
Metaphrast.

l. Pollux. l. 3.

e. Hermotin.  
p. 505.  
d. Pollux, pag.  
405.  
e. Vide Ulp.  
n. Demost.  
pag. 395.

Commonwealth. m Under their sight were all the youth of Athens. For this Reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children (not observed by our countrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Inns of Court*) youth and heat of blood untaintedness in judgment, rashness in adventures, and proneness to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own destruction. To them appertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging mysteries, as when *a Eurycles* the *Hierophanta* in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀσεβὴς; τίς τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysteries? οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωποι, replied, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalerens* befriended him, the *Hier. phanta* was in danger, *ἐπὶ ἡρώδου* *πρόθυμ*, to have been brought before the Council of *Areopagus*. By virtue of which authority *St Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.) *a* For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them *ἀνὴρ νόμιμος, sui juris*, and permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basilens*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth moneth, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, *b* and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, *c* fate down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, saies *e Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden *πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπαράστασιν*, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed *εὐχαριστία*. This *f* *Areopagite*

first calls *ἔγω δὲ περὶ τῆς μάτης* & *ἀλγος*, to speak beside the matter.  
 Before the trial both parties swear (which they stile *ἡσθεύω*)  
 The appellant standing upon the *testes* of a Goat, a <sup>g Pollex loco-</sup>  
 Ram, and a Bull (usual to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* swore the <sup>laedano. Dem.</sup>  
 Suters of *Helina*, that they should revenge any wrong done <sup>cont. affluct</sup>  
 to her and her predestinated husband, <sup>p. 43.</sup>  
 and *Hercules* to the children of *Helens* <sup>h οὐκ ἴσταντο τοῖς τοῖσι</sup>, took <sup>h Pausanias</sup>  
 oath, therefore named *ἡ νόμιμος τοῦ οὐνοῦ* in which he maintain- <sup>lacon. p. 107.</sup>  
 ed that he dealt justly and rightly, and that he was joyned <sup>Idem. Mel-</sup>  
 in affinity to the slaine man, & which if he were not, he could <sup>nacis. p. 120.</sup>  
 not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood <sup>Demosth. p.</sup>  
*ἐν τοῖς νόμοις* I suppose is, because they are the instruments of ge- <sup>608. & 418.</sup>  
 neration, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wished an <sup>These agreed,</sup>  
 extirpation of his house, himselfe, and his posterity. In which <sup>Isis Postland,</sup>  
 if he were perjured, he was liable to no punishment, as a- <sup>about the pu-</sup>  
 mong the Romans. *in jurisjurandi contempta religio satis De-* <sup>nishment ac-</sup>  
*um ultorem habet.* For swearing is punished by a revenging <sup>cording to the</sup>  
 God; but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell <sup>admirable re-</sup>  
 under the *Julian Law, Lesæ Majestatis*. After this the priso- <sup>ceived. De A-</sup>  
 ner swore; which among us will not be allowed. Then setting <sup>then. Mag. p.</sup>  
 each of them upon a two silver stones, one of which was na- <sup>449.</sup>  
 men *λίθος ὁ ὀφθαλμοῦ*, the stone of injury; the other *Ἀνυστήρ*, by <sup>Lib. 2. C. de</sup>  
*Abrian Junius* thought *Ἀνυστήρ* of innocence, not impudence. <sup>rebreced.</sup>  
 Then the appellant asked the prisoner three questions, which <sup>Paul. Attic.</sup>  
*Æschylus* calls *τρεῖς ἀναρωτήματα*. First, whether he were <sup>p. 27.</sup>  
 guilty or no, *εἰ κατέλογον*; to which he answered, *καὶ τοῦα* or <sup>g Eumenid.</sup>  
*καὶ ἔτοῦα*, yea or nay: secondly, *ὅπως κατέεργας*; for what rea- <sup>p. 202.</sup>  
 son he did the murder? Thirdly, *τίς ὁ καταδύματα*; who were <sup>g Ibidem.</sup>  
 the Abettours? Then arose there certain Lawyers, *ἐκλογηταί*,  
 who shewed whether the Murder was committed <sup>g Aeschylus.</sup>  
 in justice. (For in *Athens* there were such Councellours, to <sup>293.</sup>  
 whom in matters of difficultie they had resort) By *συνδικεῖν*, <sup>g Demosth. vol.</sup>  
 you must understand those causes, in which *Draco* thought <sup>p. 647.</sup>  
 it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleannes; <sup>Demosth. p.</sup>  
 with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubin, or any whom <sup>112.</sup>  
 he

Vid. Demost.  
contra Aristocr.

Vide Sylvium  
in Orat. pro  
Flacco.

g Terentius.  
h 117 & 109 nel-  
sis & 118 & 109  
xpi & 117 & 109  
Pachymerius.  
i Demost. con.  
Aristocr. p.  
413.  
k Aristid.  
Tom. 1. p. 185.  
l Aelian Var.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max:  
p. 322.

n Lib. quint.

he accounts among his children: the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, which was given very privily as *judicial intimates*, *Ergo occulta tegetes, ut Curia Martis Athenis*, without speaking (is the *Tabellares sententia* of the Romans, in which they wrote C. if they condemned. A. if absolved. N.L. if the case were not manifest) hence *Ἀρεοπαγίτη στυγὰν ἄνθρωπον*, for one that is close and silent, and *Ἀρεοπαγίτης*, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whose countenance is *g tristis severitas*. ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκροτησὶν ἢ ἐξουσιᾷ ἢ συντάξει. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, that none, either Appellant or prisoner, could ever say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. *καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀποβῆναι*. After doome the prisoner was to suffer death. In which execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. / When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the execution, because she was great with child, and straightway after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. m It will not be amisse to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsull of *Asia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & sonne, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred yeares after, that by such a bottom of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they neither would condemn nor acquit the womā. One thing more n *Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy for



for putting out the eyes of Quails. Because it was a signe of  
 a mind, likely to prove most pernicious. Their power was  
 shaken and somewhat pluckt downe by <sup>b</sup> *Ephialtes*, a fore <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch.*  
 enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more inclining to <sup>Vir. p. 355.</sup>  
 the people, who was secretly slain by <sup>c</sup> *Aristonicus* of *Tana-* <sup>Se Mor. 361.</sup>  
<sup>Plot. in P.</sup>  
 gra. They fate three daies every Month. <sup>737 p. 79 2 Divort. p. 117.</sup>  
 737, 3 2 737.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

*De Iudicio in Palladio.*

**A**fter the siege of Troy some of the Grecians came with  
<sup>a</sup> *Diomedes*, who kept the *Palladium*, to the coast of <sup>a</sup> *Attica*, and ariving by night at *Phalerum*, supposing it to be  
 an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho-*  
 lous ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his  
 own; and slew many of the *Argivi*: which they call out unbu-  
 ried, whose bodies when no beast had toucht <sup>(c) 656 2350 7-</sup> <sup>c</sup> *Libro octa-*  
<sup>737 2 300</sup> *Pollux* saies, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I <sup>vo pag. 406.</sup>  
 better think it no creature either foule or beast) *Acamas* <sup>f Schol. Soph.</sup>  
 shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being <sup>in Oed. Tyr.</sup>  
 warned then by the Oracle (who named them *Azovias*, that <sup>It is simply</sup>  
 is, neither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in <sup>so called Pal-</sup>  
 that Place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also <sup>ladium Athen-</sup>  
 a judicatory for murders unwillingly committed, and cal- <sup>Vat. lib. 2. c. 17.</sup>  
 led it <sup>Εν Πάλλω</sup> *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was <sup>223 3 737 2-</sup>  
*Demopho* first tried, who returned from this battaile, killed <sup>223 3 737 2-</sup>  
 with his horse, somewhat diverting an *Athenian*; <sup>g</sup> for whose <sup>737 2 300</sup>  
 kindred some think he satisfied the Law, or generally for the <sup>737 2 300</sup>  
*Argivi*. <sup>h</sup> If any had stricken a man or woman, and the party <sup>Demosth.</sup>  
 chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. <sup>i</sup> In such cases <sup>contra Ne-</sup>  
 the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was <sup>ram pag.</sup>  
 not punished with perpetuall exile; <sup>737. Vide</sup>  
 felony; <sup>647.</sup> (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration* pag. 329.  
 R (where



k Demosthe-  
 nes, Midiana.  
 l Eust. in Iliad  
 1. Εἶος πα-  
 λαιὸν βῆ-  
 ρὸν ἔντος  
 πῶς &c.  
 m De Ponto  
 l. 1. Eleg. 4.  
 n Eustath. but  
 Demosth.  
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἔ-  
 σται τις ἥ-  
 ἐν γὰρ τῷ  
 πεπονητότος:  
 Until he ob-  
 tained remissi-  
 on from some  
 of the kindred  
 of the slain.  
 a Demosth.  
 b Fastrorum 2  
 initio.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would ne-  
 ver returne) but he did k ἐξέπραξεν in a gentler terme. l For it  
 was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony (the  
 Attick Law ῥήματα ἐπίπνια, in wilfull, all was confiscate) to  
 the kindred of the slaine that they might not depart their  
 country: but if they could not purchase an abroad they went  
 some where else. m Ovid. Cede puer factâ Patroclus Opuntia  
 reliquit. Their discontinuance was but for one year ἄλλος  
 ὃ εὖρον ὁ φονὸς ἔπαρερον οἱ πᾶσι πύδα ἐναιετο. The mony dis-  
 burshed on such occasions was properly called πῶν quasi re-  
 m, from εἶν & murther, as if it were the price of blood. And  
 the Scholiast on Sophocles tells us that πῶν is spoken only ἐν  
 καταβολῇ χρημάτων of payment of mony, but abusively of a-  
 ny punishment. a If the party wounded had forgiven the  
 offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperate-  
 ly hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; other-  
 wise he fled. And in that flight he betook himselfe to some  
 acquaintance; by whom he was clesed from the guilt with  
 certain ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call  
 Febria. So was Patroclus, Pelus, Medea, Alomaon purified;  
 b Ovid.

Gracia principium moris fuit: illi nocentes

Impia lustratos p. nere facta putat.

Aitoridem Pelus, ipsum quoque Pelca Phoci

Cade per Aemonias solvit Acastus aquas.

Tectam frangat per inane draconibus A gens

Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;

Amphiaradiades Naupacteo Acheloo

Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.

Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cadis

Flumineâ tolli posse putatis aquâ.

In this ceremony they did πῶν, sacrifice, saies c Demosthenes,  
 which custome likewise was observed by the d Træzenians  
 in the lustration of Orestes from the blood of his mother:  
 which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated  
 there

c Kετὰ Αἰ-  
 σῶπ. p. 414.  
 d Pausan. Co-  
 rinth. p. 74.  
 Kετὰ ἑορῆς  
 οὐκ ὀψί-  
 νους καὶ ἀπ-  
 εἰρε καὶ ἀλ-  
 λους &c.

there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegasus*; the sprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I suppose (by the words following perswaded to it, which tell us, that when the *καθαίρεται* were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that *καθαίρεται*, *ἄντα*, *ἐκκαθαίρεται*. This, as I said, was in his sight. *κατὰ δ' ὅμοιον ἐκκαθαίρεται νεμύμεται νοί*. The proceeding in this Court, was first, *διαμυσία*, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser & defendant: secondly, *ἀντιλογία*, their speeches of both sides: thirdly, *γνώσις δικαστική*, Judgement. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

*De Judiciis ἢ Δελφικῇ. Πρωταρεῖς Φρεσῆ ἱ.*

**A**T Athens there was a Temple erected by *c* *Ageus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinus* and *Diana Delphinia*, <sup>a</sup> where was the Tribunall named *Δελφικῆ*, or *ἐν Δελφικῇ διακρίσις*. <sup>b</sup> In this Judicatory were heard cases of murder, when the party contested the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. <sup>c</sup> For the Law required no punishment of any man that should kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanness with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewise if in preservation of his goods or own detence he spilt blood, it was not capital. The first that was arraigned here was *Thesens*, maintaining the right he had to slay the Thieves, saies *c* *Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procrustes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this tryall of *Thesens*, who-

<sup>a</sup> Ptolearch. pag. 4. l. 19.  
<sup>b</sup> Schol. Arist. pag. 333.  
<sup>c</sup> Aelian. Var. 15. c. 15.  
<sup>d</sup> Demosth. contra Arist. pag. 410. 411.  
<sup>e</sup> Lib. 8. pag. 406.  
<sup>f</sup> Pausan. Att. p. 27.

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying dye, were the cause never so just. *Ἐν Πειραιῇ* Here they fate on things inanimate As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him: and the *φυλάκται*, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which *g Aschin* alludes. *Τὸ πρῶτον δὲ τῶν κρίσεων, ἐπὶ τῷ δίκῳ πρὸς δῶρα, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιτομῇ ἀποκτείναντες οὐκ ἔστιν.* The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call *νεβη*, had slain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Pollus* in the time of *Erechthus*. *Ἐν περαιῇ.* In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name *πειραιῶς*, from *Piræus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it *ἐν περαιῇ*. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillfull murder *μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκκαλέσθαι αὐτὸν ἡσυχάζειν*, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled *ἐν περαιῇ*, in a place seated on the Sea, *καὶ πρὸς ἐπιπλοῦντος ἐπιβυβάδον*, where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark was to make his apology, *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀδύνατον* not coming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor / or mooring his barks; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former *μηδὲν δὲ ἐπὶ περαιῇ στέρεται ὁ γλῶσσος καὶ γὰρ.* I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryall, he was exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seeme to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of

*Salamin*

*g Pollux loco citato.*

*g Contra Ctesiph. p. 123.*

*h Lib. octav. 496.*

*i Demosth. contra Aristoc. 415.*

*k Demosth.*

*Redolphus Qualiter, out of Pollux in- respects it*

*Scalam terre aspicentem;*

*putting downe a ladder; the Greek*

*ἐπιβυβάδον.*

*m Demosthe- nis.*

*n Dicitur Cre- tensis de bel- lo Trojano, l.*

*6. p. 146.*

*Salamis*, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to <sup>b</sup> *Aristotle* "ὅσα τῆς <sup>b</sup> *Politicon*.  
 εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιέρει, ὡς Ἀθῶνται λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν 4. c. 17.  
 ἐπὶ τῇ δικάσει. Judicatories concerning men flying for  
 murder, that care for their bringing back againe, such as in  
*Athen*, τὸ ἐν ὀργάνῳ. When the party prosecuting will not  
 admit of reconciliation.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

*De Tribunalibus reliquis.* Παράλευτρον. Τεῖνον, Βατραχίδιον.  
 Φειρικίδιον. Τὸ ἐπ' Ἀρχῆς Μυρτιάς δικάσειον.  
 Εἰς Ἀφιδίην. Δικαστήριον.

Besides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there  
 were for civill matters these *Heliae*, of which before  
 for the excellency of it I treated. Παράλευτρον. Of this name  
 there are two, <sup>a</sup> *Παράλευτρον μέζον καὶ μικρόν*, the greater and  
 the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*,  
 that exceeded not one drachme, to which <sup>c</sup> *Aristotle* might <sup>c</sup> *Polit. lib. 4.*  
 be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, <sup>c</sup> *πεὶ τὸ μέγιστον* c. 17.  
<sup>a</sup> *ἐπὶ τῇ δικάσει, ὅτι δὲ καὶ μύρια &c.* And this was the mean-  
 ing of <sup>d</sup> *Paulanias*, <sup>d</sup> *ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς συνέναντες αὐτῇ*. Sung here <sup>d</sup> *Atticis. p.*  
 for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the <sup>e</sup> *27. l. 13.*  
 Court, which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be  
 reckoned among the *δὲνα δικάσεια*. It stood <sup>e</sup> *ἐν ἀστυ πύ-* <sup>e</sup> *Paulanias.*  
<sup>a</sup> *λαις*, in an obscure place of the city; whence <sup>e</sup> *ἐν ὀργάνῳ*, in <sup>e</sup> *ib. dem.*  
<sup>f</sup> *Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor*  
 taken frō the situation of the Judicatory, or, <sup>f</sup> *ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς*  
<sup>g</sup> *τὸ ἐν τῇ κατασκευῇ ἔσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν*, from goods  
 secretly hidden. <sup>g</sup> *Εἰς παραθύρον, ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως*. *Τεῖνον*, from  
 the forme of it, which seems to have been triangular. <sup>h</sup> *Βα-*  
<sup>h</sup> *τραχίδιον* and <sup>i</sup> *Φειρικίδιον*, from the colours that were painted <sup>h</sup> *2. Aristoteles*  
<sup>i</sup> *ἐπὶ τῷ στυλῶν τῷ ἐισόδῳ* upon the post of the entry, answer- <sup>i</sup> *Athen. Rep.*  
 able to which there was a staffe given to the Judges, that <sup>i</sup> *apud Arist.*  
<sup>j</sup> *sch. pag. 31.*  
 they

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their stæffe. Ἰὸντι Λύκω. From the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence ἡ Λύκος δικάς, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busy there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, α παλιν εὖ συνήσαντες οἱ συνδικάζοντες τὰ δικάσθαια (understand πρὸς ὅν or the like) at which they who bribed the judicatories met. *Zinobius* helps my conjecture ἐν δὲ οἱ παλαιότεροι καὶ νεότεροι καὶ δικάζοντες συνέστειλοντο. The <sup>b</sup> Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neare the judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each, a day. <sup>c</sup> Μνηστὴρ δικάσθαιον. This was a great judicatory; so named from *Merichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly defended, and owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, Ἐν Ἀρδύτῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunall so called: neither did <sup>d</sup> *Arystus* think otherwise, when he translated these words of *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδύτῳ δικάσθαιον, *apud tribunal Ardetum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὡς πρὸς ἐν Ἀρδύτῳ δικάσθαιον. The judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Lawes, and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, *f* by *Ap Illo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirms, speaking of *Ardettus*, <sup>g</sup> Ἐν τῷ

<sup>b</sup> *Zinobius*.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. octavo p. 406. The place is corrupt, as you may perceive by the false Gucke.

<sup>b</sup> Vesp. p. 457. <sup>c</sup> *Pollux* lib. 3.

<sup>d</sup> *Athen. Ar.* 12. c. 12. p. 124. <sup>e</sup> Lib. 8. pag. 406.

<sup>f</sup> Ἀπόλλων  
ἱερῶν, καὶ  
Διονυσίου, καὶ  
Διὸς Πατρὸς  
λέει.  
<sup>g</sup> *Etym. mag.*  
p. 147.

τοὺς δὲ τὰς χάρις ἀμυνόντες δικαστὰς δικαστῶν ὄρον. The Judges in this place took their oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *h Arditi*, proverbially, as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδῖτες ἱμῖρας. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Ar. opagus, Palladium, Delphinium, Prytanium, and Phreatys*. For other matters *Hlias, Trigonum, Parabysum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Maichis forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the *Δισκῶτες* were wont to sit, saies *k Possardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the privileges of an *Athenian Citizen*. *o* In former time there came no controversy into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachnes; Although *p Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty busineses) but that seems to be, *ἐν ἑκάστῃ*, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. What ever the *δισκῶται* *ἐκπαστοὶ* judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the *q* Argument of *Dem. 1b. Orat. contra Callippum*; & *r Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintiffe by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. / When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

*h* Casaub.  
Theoph.  
Char. p. 178.  
*i* Eryn. Mag.  
loco laudato.

*k* De Mag.  
Athen. p. 540.  
*l* Descrip.  
Resp. Ath. p.  
41.  
*m* Ulpian. in  
Dem. p. 342.  
*n* Pollux l. 8.  
p. 407.  
*o* Pollux ib.

*p* Demosthe-  
neni loco ci-  
tato.

*q* Pag. 678.  
*r* Lib. 8. p.  
407.

*s* Vide Dem.  
Midian. &c.  
Ulpian in il-  
lum. p. 344.



which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the plaintiffe one drachme which they called *τ δ. ἀγορά*, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annuall; And because they would pervert justice, (as *u Demosthenes* is witnessse, \* although they were not to judge before they had sworne) give sentence according to favour, envy, or for gaine, therefore *x* at the years end made they an account of their function upon the last day of *γ Thargelion*, on which it was lawfull for any to speak what he could object against them; and if any were faulty, they were *ἀτιμαί*. Thus much of the *Δικασταὶ Κανονικοί*. There were other *Δικασταὶ* likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromissarii*; and we in english *Arbitrators*; whom two parties chose with resolution to stand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant or other controversy whatsoever: such by the Attick Law any might request, but with necessity of abiding at their judgement. *z* For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To referre matters to their arbitrement the Greeks terme *ἐπιθέσειν δίκην*. And it will not be superfluous here to relate the story of *Bunus* an Athenian, whom when the *Elis* and *Calydonii* had chosen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence untill at last he died. Whence grew to a proverbe, *a Bunus δικάζει*, *Bunus judicat*, *Bunus judgeth*, of those that deferre to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspense.

## CAP. IV.

*De Nominibus Judicialibus.*

HAVING thus treated of the Attick Courts, it follows that I speake of the Termes of Law, Writs, Accusations. These were of two sorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed *καμπεία*, laies *b Eminius* Of

\* Pollux 8.  
c. 10. p. 468.

*u* Orat. in  
Boetium pro  
dote.

\* Idem pag.  
682. n. 41.

*z* Ulpian lo-  
co laudato  
341.

*z* Perit. M.C.  
cell. 8. p. 211.

\* Vide legem  
apud Dem. p.  
344.

*a* Zenobius.

*b* Descrip. Reip.  
Ath. p. 41.



κατηγορίαι there were divers sorts. *ῥεσπὴν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐνδοξῇ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων*. *ῥεσπὴν*, saies (e) *Ulpian*, is ἐν τῇ ἐνδοξῇ, of any trespassse against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated: and most properly, (a) quoth he, elsewhere, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a (e) *VVrit* or Right, in Latine *Attio* or *Formula*, as in (f) *Sutton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to serve a man with a *VVrit*. (g) *ἀκτὴ* is a kind of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine; which the *h* Orators call *ἡμίονος*, from *ἡμίονος*, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In generall, all discoveries of private injuries are called *δικαίωμα*, which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*, but among the *Athenians*, not so, if (i) *Pollux* say right. *ἡ δὲ ἡμίονος* is the amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachmes, & the Accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, a thousand, four hundred and one. "Εἰς τὴν πόλιν is a *VVrit* against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to beare office, saies (k) *Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amisse in publique affaires: & the *m* Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ in

In *Demost.*  
pro *Corona*,  
p. 159.  
d *Orat. contra*,  
Lept. p. 196.  
e *Sa T. Smith*  
Com; Wealth  
of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.  
f In *V. tell o.*  
g *Pollux* l. 3.  
p. 337.

*h* *Demosthen.*  
cont. *Cariel*,  
p. 699. n. 6.  
cont. *Everg. &*  
*Mnesib* pag.  
646. n. 90.  
cont. *Steph.*  
*J. & A. P.*  
22. n. 9. con-  
tra *Onocora*.  
l. 52. c. p.  
528. n. 19.  
cont. *Aphob.*  
c. p. 508. n. 97.  
i *Onomast. l.*  
8 c. 6. p. 387.  
k *Demost.* p.  
391.  
l In *Equi* t. p.  
393.  
m *Pag.* 469.

z Onom. lib. 8.  
p. 388.

o In Stelit. 1.

p Sir T. Smith  
Commonw.  
of Engl. l. 2.  
c. 26 p. 281.  
q Locolaud.

r Ulp. in Dem.  
p. 389.  
s Idem. p. 407.

t Dem. p. 416.

for men disfranchised. But *z Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taking in the manner, which the *Greek* terme *ἑσταυρωμένος*, o Schol. *Ναζιανζ* ἑσταυρωμένος, *Pollux* expresses by *ὁμολογῶν καὶ ἀδικήματ' ὅτι*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemne themselves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledgment of their guiltinesse, without greater trial, they received their doome: *p* as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our Proverb, *Confesse and be Hanged*. *q Pollux* ὁμολογῶν ἀδικήματ' ὅτι, καὶ κτείνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πινεῖας δευδύναι. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, *Ἰδιδὺς ἐνδιδύναι*. The declaration was against men who were not present.

A *παρωγῆ*, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachmes were endangered. In this *ἡ παρωγῆ*, they brought not all offenders to the *12* Magistrates, but according as they were made ludges of such and such offences; *a* sometimes to the eleven, sometimes to the *6* *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treasury, or bound for those places or countries, where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murder, if by reason of weaknesse he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and *ἀπαγεῖν*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme *ἀνεγείδω*. *Αἰσχρολόγιον*, is when a fellow hath committed murder, and flies for succour to any (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the flaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to the and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any three persons, as some translate it,

or

or all save three, ἀλλοι τρεῖς, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, saies \*Ulpian, is an accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as (x) esse- where he speaks of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democra-* cte, or if an Oratour had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to warres before they were sent, or betrayed a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachmes, and lost the privileges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a Law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fifth part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand Drachmes, although he lost not the privileges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγεληνός. The Senate was *Judg* (Pollux saies that *Solon* made a thousand to sit on this, and *Phalerus* 1500. Where the interpreter erres: for πρὸς πεντακῆντος is 500 to them, as ἑπὶ πρὸς, in *Demosthenes*, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined, but if the offence were hainous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publique actions, private were these that follow, more properly called *Σίγαι*.

Λοιπὴ Σ. is an Action against a man, who when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the (γ) Greeks call ἀνὰ πρῶτον αὐτῶν Σίγαι. (x) The matter was heard before the Judges & though the Law ordained not any set summe of money for damages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting. \* The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was lest any not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seek to revenge himselfe with stones, or other hurtfull weapon,

\* Idem cont.  
Arist. p. 41.  
\* In Dem. p. 53  
x Eund. p. 453.

v Dem. p. 410.  
vide Vlp. ibid.  
& Arg. Orat.  
cont. l. verg.  
p. 637.  
Scht. Arist.  
Cont. p. 744.  
x Dem. cont.  
p. 600.

b Idem ibid.

c Arg. Orat.  
Dem contra  
Calliclem.  
d Dem. cont.  
Callip. p. 680.  
n. 20.  
e Dem. cont.  
Tim. p. 659.  
n. 25.  
f Ech. Aristot.  
137 E.  
g Cont. Phor. p.  
555. n. 7.  
h Vide Cujacii  
um. Observ.  
1.6. c. 15.

i This is rec-  
tified among  
the Latines  
which were  
made for pri-  
vate use. Ulp. in  
Dem. p. 481.  
b Vi Casaub.  
in Theoph.  
p. 191. Char.  
cetera Antiquar.  
l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.  
m Dem. p. 651.  
n. 13.  
n Ulp. in Dem.  
p. 62. & 310.

*Kαμπόριος* δ. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the  
lye, left by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provo-  
ked to blowes. *Βλάδης* δ. Is when any man receives dam-  
mage and hurt in estate by another man. *ε* As to turne water  
into his ground by which it is annoyed; *δ* To refuse to pay mo-  
ney where it is required, or to give it to another; *ε* To promise  
to bear witnesse in a suit, and then not be present, by which  
the case fals, and the like. *Παρεγκαταδίκης* δ. About pawnes,  
I suppose, which men that needed mony were wont to leave  
with the usurers, *φ* as cloathes, household stuffe, &c. Or about  
money put to the Panck, which the exchangers did employ to  
the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of *g* Demosthe-  
nes. The word imports both. *Απορρώμης* δ. Of divorce.  
*h* For they were wont to put away their wives, in former  
time, upon discontent or hope of greater portions; which di-  
vorce they called *επορωμω*, & as *Lysias* *επορωμω* on the hus-  
bands side, and on the wives *επορωμω*; for he did as it were  
turne her away, she was said to forsake him. *Κατάστας* δ.  
Of ill usage of Parents, as not relieving them if they were  
poore. Of wives against husbands, of Pupils against Tutors.  
*Κλοπῆς* of theft, after what manner soever. Which if it were  
by day, was not capitall, but by night was deadly. *Χρέος* δ.  
Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it  
being by *i* Law provided in *Athens* that none should take too  
much use, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might  
make the best of his money: which he termes *κέρδιον ἀφ' ὧν*.  
*ε* Of usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of money.  
*συμβολαίων* δ. When men had bargained and would not stand  
to it. *l* Aristotle. *Δίξιν ὁπὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πόλεων*.  
*Συνθήκας* δ. *ἐν ἀλλήλοις* δ. When men broke the Articles which  
they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance be-  
tween Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning  
free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*.  
*Arif. Pel. 3. cap. 6.* or the like. *m* These *ὅρκους* were usually  
confirmed by oath to each other. *Διαιτησίαν* δ. *n* a conten-  
tion

tion about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. *Επιχειρίας δ.* When parents died and left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear who was nearest joyned in blood, that he might Marry her. Hence a Virgin to whom an inheritance falls is called *ἐμισθίνας*, that is, *Contro-* Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.  
*μισθίνας*. *Μισθώσεως οίκου δ.* About letting of Houses. (For *ἑμισθίσαι* termes that *ἐκδοδέναι*, which other Greek writers *μισθίσαι*, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, *ἀμισθίαν* and *ἐμισθίσαι*, to let out. Which they often did for want of Money, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use to doe, *Τὸς οἶκον τὸν τοῦτο ἐκδοδέναι*. Which Custom *Menedemus* in (p) *Terence* expresses--*Inscripti illico*, p. Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.  
*ÆDES MERCEDE*) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of yeares: such as immediately is before spoken) who having taken the charge upon them of Tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remaine void of a Tenant, to the losse of the Pupil, then was it lawfull for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court, upon a Writ of *μισθώσεως οίκου*. *Επιχειρίας*. I have observed it to have been a custome among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, and delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, and to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as *Oedipus* in q. *Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in the behalfe of his daughters. --*ὅτι γὰρ ὅν κ' ἔρα δὲ μοι χηρὸς τὸς πῶν ἀργαίαν τέκνους, ὅμοις πεπῶσιν τὸ δὲ κ' ἔχεται ἰνασόν Μήτορ περὶ πᾶν τὰς δ' ἑκὼν, πλεῖν δ' ὅσ' αὖ Μόλῃς θενῶν δ' ἑυμάρειν τ' αὐτὰς αἰεὶ.* Not unlike is that of the *Comædian* under the

the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

*Accessi: vos semote: nos soli: incipit:*

*Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque aetatem vides:*

*Nec clam te est, quam illi nunc utraque inutiles*

*Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem sicut.*

*Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,*

*Per tuam fidem, perque hujus solitudinem*

*Te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges, non deseras.*

*Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;*

*Sive hac te solum semper fecit maxumi,*

*Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.*

*Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:*

*Bona nostra hac tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.*

*Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continuo ipsam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the use was to nominate in their Testaments and last Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they should defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a Writ *Integritatis* as (*f*) *Demosthenes* did sue his as soon as he came to age. But if the matter were not questioned within five yeares after the pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the (*r*) Law the Guardian could not be taxed. *Amosius*, of a Master against a Servant ingratefull for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as (*u*) *Demosthenes* witnesses, it was the nature of servants once made free, not only to be ingratefull, but also to hate their Masters most of all men, as those who had been conscioes to their servitude. It was enacted therefore that whosoever was convicted of ingratitude should again be made a bondslave. \* *Valerius Maximus* Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod convictus à patrōno libertus ingratus, jure libertatis eximitur. The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City

(which

*f* Plut. in vita ejus.

*r* Demosth p. 724. § 1. 22.

*u* Pag. 465.

\* Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 670.



(which the Athenians gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they terme (x) *Maximam capitis diminutionem*. Σίτη. If any man put away his wife he was to restore her portion again; if he refused he was ἐπ' ἐννὲ ὀβολοῖς, that is, every moneth for one pound to pay nine obols which the Atticks terme (y) *ἡστέσειν προίκος*, the renew of her dowry. The Writ whereby he was sued was Σίτη δίκη, 733. for the repayment. (z) *Εροικίε*, If any went to Law, as claiming Title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐροικίε, by which he demands his Rent for the time the defendant had the house, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a VVrit *καρπῶ* given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an *ἐπίαι δίκη*, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these Trials the defendant were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or land but if in a third triall, which they call *ἐξέλις*, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This *ἐξέλις* also is a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from *ἐξέλαειν*, to throw forth. <sup>a</sup> It is also a VVrit of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, & fined a thousand Drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not down upon the nayle, there went forth a VVrit *ἐξέλις*, to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Right against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike, to reap the fruit thereof. VVho either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. *ἡ δὲ δίκη τῆς ἐνοικίας*. VVhen two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the VVrit. *Βεβαυδένος*, Because the Market place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat & <sup>b</sup> Apud Laer. chosen in, as *Anacharsis* was wont to say, therefore the Athenians enacted that none should buy in the Market place, (to which the Scythian wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that

Justin Inst.

l. 1. T. 15.

Demost. p.

733.

Dem. pag.

655. n 58.

<sup>a</sup> Vlp. in Dem.

p. 340.



c Pollux. l. 3.  
c. 6. p. 385.

d In Aulon.  
Lect. l. 2. c. 6.  
e In Theoph.  
Char. p. 312.

f Adversario-  
rum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don. C. god  
prius datur, ut  
reliquum red-  
datur. in Ter.  
Heaut. Act. 3.  
Sc. 3.

h Vide Dasque  
in Pafil. Sci.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomast. l.  
8. c. 6. p. 334.

l Demost. p.  
718 n. 29.

m Pand. Prio.  
p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n.  
78.

Here followeth  
the terms pri-  
vate, private  
and public  
which are pri-  
vate and public  
for any to pro-  
secute. f. Pollux  
l. 2. p. 386.

they forbad to speak false, and yet did *ἐν τῇ καμαρίῳ* (L. 1. c. 2.) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, c he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulness of the thing sold, and maintaine it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to *βιβασίῳ δικῇ*. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Græcâ fide*, with ready Mony; as d Scaliger & Casaubon truly interpret it, f Turn. bin, Representatâ pecuniâ: yet sometime gave they earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* call (*g*) *ἀρραβών*, from the *h* *Hebrew* *אָרָבֹן*. This seems to me to have been the hundredth part of the Mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as i Strabon out of Theophrastus. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some three or four daies before. *Εἰς ἐμπόριον κατατίθειν*, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law, by k Pollux his words I may conjecture, goods or Mony privily taken away. *Ἐξυπόστεις δίκην*. VVhen any should offer to take another mans servant, and make him free against the will of the Master, which the *Greeks* terme *Λύσις δουλῶς ἐλδοῦριαν ἀπολέσθαι*.

*Αμειψὶς οὐκίς* is a suit about nearness of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. *Παρακαταθήκη*. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as neer of blood, or upon some other conditions: from *παράκατα* *τάθειν*; because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, saies m Budens: but if publique, the fifth. *παρακαταθήκη*. VVhen any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is *ἐν δίκῃ*, as a true heir being still alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of Demosthenes against Leocrates. *Ἐπίσκηψις*. VVhen any shall try to falsifie the *διαμνηστεία*. *Αντιγράσει*. VVhen men went to Law about kinred, as as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

Απογραφή

'Αγορεύειν. All strangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy School-master, the glory of his time o Mr. *Mathew Bux* hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned. & if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. 'Αχαρισία of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankiull to those who had well deserved of them. Ξενία the same with ἀξιοσύνη, when any will reckon himself among the number of Citizens who had never been made free, by which hee purchased imprisonment, until such times as there was a Court kept, and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witness of a matter. 'Εκμάρτυρία, When another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομαρτυρία falsewitness, which to prosecute in Law they term ἐπιτηδεύειν. Ψευδομαρτυρία. Διηγομαρτυρία, when one was eye witness, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητύειν, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter, or was not present, otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachmes, in which summe to be fined the Attick Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλησιάζειν. Δωροπράξις, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δικασμός against those that did corrupt them. 'Αγία of a man convinced of idleness, which once taken, *Draco* punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges. *Solon*, not unlesse he were thrice delinquent. Λειτονόμος, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ships. Αναμαχία, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ψευδομαρτυρία when any would falsly accuse, there was likewise against them a Writ ἐπιβληνός. Ψευδομαρτυρία. Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωροπράξις when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to escape free. Παράνομος, when any

o In Epist.  
Dedic. suo  
Euchaitemi  
praxia ad  
Rochar. Can-  
tuarientem  
Archiepisco-  
pum.

any was accused of making a decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called *παραισιάζειν*, because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. *δουλοπαισία*, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Lust, and incontinency, whether they had not spent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were discarded the privileges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speake publicly. *εὐδοκίαν*, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne *Logista* (for the breach of which went out a Writ *Αλογίη λόγον δίδοναι*, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the judges. *Προβολή* an accusation against those who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. *Προβολαί* likewise are accusations against men injurious, *ἡξυβείταντες*,<sup>a</sup> and such as are delinquent against their festivalls, as the oration of *Demosthenes* against *Midias*. *Προνομισία*, An oath which the accuser tooke that he would justly accuse. (q) *Αντινομισία*, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. *Εξουσιοσίη*, an oath of Ambassadors or men chosen for state service, that by reason of sickness they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they please. It is likewise the oath of one called to witnesse, wherein he swears that he knowes nothing of the businesse. *Απονομισία*, when others shall sweare that pretended weaknesse was only a shift to put off the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. *Υπονομισία*, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said. *Προαγγελή*, & *ἑτα δῖπειν*, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such, and such, & not as it is. *ex. gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is *λειπτεργνέ*, and I accuse him of

<sup>a</sup> Lib. Arg.  
Midianam.  
q Ulpian in  
Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit *λειποταξίς*, or objection of the time past, within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, and not in such; as withfull Murther in *Arcopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed *ἀρξασθῆναι*. *Ar-*  
*μασι*, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff inlike manner. But if the defendant (I call *ἀντιεαφάδαρον* so) were cast, he payed *ὑποβελίαν*. *ἢ Μὴ ἴστα*, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitria controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in *ἐρέμνῃ*, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten dates to sue out *μὴ ἔπειν*, wherein he re-  
proved the sentence, and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state againe. But if he could not obtaine a *μὴ ἴστα*, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as *ῥύλ-ῥ* In Dem. p. 340.) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security. *ἀντισταχάγειν δίκην*; When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of *Eremodicium*, and if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is *ἀντισταχάγειν δίκην*) he was sure to pay the fine. *ἐπὶ σιγῇ ἔσθαι*, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publiquely sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they term *ἐντρίχημα*. *περὶ ἁλλήσεως*, is a citing of on before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the defendant & *ἐντρίχημα*, the suit dyed, and such actions are called *ἀντρίχληται δίκαι*. *ἐπὶ ῥύλῃ*, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some wirtness, oath or confession extorted by tortments, & the like. *Ἐπὶ ῥύλῃ*, is an appeal from one Court to the

Vlpian in  
Dem. 334.

In Dem. p.  
340.

Dem. p. 623.

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to some forrainers in another country. *Ἀτίμωσις* when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did *ἐμπεδών*, write down at the lower end of his Inditement; of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. *Βολίτασις*, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; wherce of those that are put in the Court for triviall matters the Proverb *ἢ Βολίτε δίδω. Ἀτί-βλῆς* of impietie against their gods, as *Aristotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Achæarnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delfos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as one the contrary the accuser if he got not the better. *Πεσόσις*, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. \* *Ἀγγραία*, If any owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, and before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta ἀγγραία*, but if his name was never entered, he was prosecuted by an *ἰνδίκης. Μισθολογία* proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister. \* Lyable to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his worke, who should digge within another mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as *Ἰππάρχης* tels us. There was likewise *ἀγγραία μεταλλῶν* against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new worke were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publike Treasury. Now if any presumed

\* *Aristoph. Sch.*  
p. 3. 28 *Laertius*  
in vita.

\* *Dem. cont.*  
*Theocr. pag. 7.*  
13. n. 76. 77.

\* *Dem. cont.*  
*Pant. r. p. 567. n.*  
5152.

\* *In vitis De-*  
*cent. Rhet. p.*  
453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers,  
 it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀγάρου υπάλλη. Αγορμῆς  
 δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. 2 For ἀγορμῆς 2 Argum.  
 among the Atticks is the same that ἐθίμ in the Lawyers of Photm. Orat.  
 latter time, in *Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἄγορμῆς  
 ἀγορμῆς for means and sustenance, 2 ἀγορμῆς εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Κα- a Sch. Eurip.  
 ταδικῆς & καταδικαστικῆς have this difference, that ἡ κατα- b Med. p. 368.  
 δικῆς is the Judg that gives sentence, καταδικαστικῆς is he b Ulpian in  
 that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sen- Med. p. 368.  
 tence past against the defendant. c Ἀγροίς is when a man is  
 deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge c Idem in  
 all; and therefore desires the people that a part thereof Dem. p. 450.  
 might be remitted.



LIB-







# LIBER QVARTVS.

*De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.*

CAP. I.

*De Venere & Cupidine.*



HE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that rose of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the service of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein she was courted, and the over favourable name of *ἐρατιά* will sufficiently testifie. One of those Temples was for *Venus Oυγενία* (*a si diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the *Muses*, or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus Παιδνμος*. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent saying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning *Κάλλω ἑρατία*, & *Κάλλω παιδνμος*. Δὸς δ' ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀνθρώπους κάλλω παναῖον, τὸ καὶ ἑρατία, τὸ καὶ παιδνμον, ὡς περ τὸ κάλλω αἰ γυναικὶ δίδωσι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἑρατίον ἀρχή τε καὶ ἐνδοξὸν καὶ δεινόν, καὶ συνεπὶ ὧδε ἑρατίον παρὰ γυναικί. Τὸ δὲ παιδνμον ἑρπιάται καὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἐγχεσθῆναι περὶ τῆς σκευῆς. A saying good enough for a Christian, and a Bishop, such as *Stridas* reporteth him to have been. But a diverticula. The sacrifices of the first Temple, were *ἄνυστοι*, with a little more state and chastity then became her; but those of the last, *ἐρατισσώτεροι*, as *cashe*, and as wicked as her self.

a *Pausanias*.

b *ἐρατία*, a Play so called



self: For every farthing Strumper, might by *Solon's* owne appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the *Kεραμευιδε*, or the *Ξυλῶν* (those *Κεραμεῖα* *Ag. c* Pausanias. *Ξυλῶν*) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, & besides places for the purpose, they had garments also for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, *Τῶν Ἀϊονῶν, floridus vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received frō the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*. *Fides p. nes Authorem ē sit.* Thee *Earl. Rhed.* fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew shee had a place in the *Ditches* too as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust (to either of the Sexes) inso much that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Denm* or *Deam*; for there is one that sayes

— *Pullemque Dum Venerim.* Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil. Æn. 2. v.* 632. reads

*Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hestes*

*Expedior* — and not *Dea*, and so *Aristophanes* call's her *Ἀφροδίτη*, in the masculine gender. But, now this makes more work, & therefore (to plaister two walls with one potfull of plaistering) they made it a custom, *si sacrificiū \* facere viros* *\* Phil'chorus,* *cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cū virili. Quod candē & Mas, & cited by Macro-* *Femina estimaretur,* for the men to sacrifice to her in womens apparel, and women in mens. If it be so, you may say *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the *g* Poet (because shee was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a *ἄνδρᾱ*; as *Theocritus* *h* does *Hecate*, with *ὁ θεὸς ἂν τοιοῦτος*; 2. an appellative of the masculine gender: Nor is it enough, *h* In *capua* that the Mother is thus religiously woo'd, and adored. but *ἄνδρᾱ. 5.* the blind pauntry Boy will be crying for a Temple too. And if

*Elx*

Her due be a Cow, certainly His cannot be less than a Calf, neither was it.

Ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν ἡ αὐτῇ Βῆν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

sayes *Thucritus*: and *Amori Litari* to sacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apulians*. Me thinks he might have been content to sit still in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zuxs*, and crowned with flowers) and have soared \* with his wings no higher. But the Temple of *Eos* and *Ἀφροδίτης* in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of *Ψιδυφῶ*, do more then whisper what cause he had to be so proud, and how amorous this People has been:

\* *Alnus*.

## CAP. II.

## De Pedrastia

i Ep. ad Rom.  
c. 1. v. 26.  
k Ibid. v. 27.

TO omit the *Τελείωσις* and the Abomination of the *Wemen* one with another changing *ἡ ἐξουσία ἐν ἑαυτῇ, εἰς τὴν τὰ φύσιν ἐναντίαν*, the natural use into that which is against nature, give me leave to speak a little of their *Παιδεύσεις*, or *ταῖς δόξαις*, and the *Ἀγνοοῦν*, & practised by *Men* upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

— *Amorem*

*Inteneros transferre mares* —

(if we may beleeve *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tenscribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Persians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read those words of *Cornelius Nepes*, *Lanā in Grecia ducitur adolescentulis, quā plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and those concerning *Alcibiade*, in another. *Incunite adolescentiā amatus est à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himself afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that double-*Cappa-rongery* as well as in *Pausanias*, or in *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* \* *Seetaries*. The *Cretians* (whatever *Sirabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a law for toleration of it. The *o Megarines* had

i Initio lib. de  
Facell. Imp.  
m. *Amil.*  
Prob.  
\* *Plato* in  
Sym.  
n *Socratici*  
et *Asini*.  
o *Atheniens.*

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kisse sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*, only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Ath. nians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay *p. Alian* <sup>p. L. 3. 1. 12.</sup> (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies *Σπάρτην τὸν πόλεμον Ἀρχόντων ἔκλειπεν*, but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their *τὰ παλαιὰ*, and *οἱ Περσικοὶ ὄμιλοι* tell in plain song what they loved: though I confesse, I have found no such feats among them, as that of *q Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to *q* <sup>Lycoph.</sup> submit to his lust. One word more & I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick or *r Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of *ἑσπριασ* or *ἑσπρια* or rather *ἑσπριας*, as *r Inque vices* *Callimachus* hath it. <sup>fuerat captivus antelitus ovis.</sup>

*Μίμλαετο δ' ἐς Πύλῳς ὁ πόσις Κῆρυξ ἰσι.*

By which word (saith the *Etimological Dictionary*) is denoted, *ἑσπριασ* (or rather *ἑσπρια*) *ἑσπριασ*, one inspired, shall I say, or *blow d*; for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy so perdition as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we say) or *(pit in his mouth)*, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. *Ἄνθρωποι γὰρ δέοντες τῷ ἑσπριασ ἑσπριασ ἀνθρώπων. Ἀνδραγαθὸν δ' ἔστιν ἡ γυνὴ ἑσπριασ δὲν λέγουσιν*, and so *Hesychius* saies of *ἑσπρια* too, *ἑσπρια μὴ ἑσπρια, πορνεία*. This was all (as he sayes) or (as I say) it should have been all; for a man may love his house well enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge. However, I must confels they had so much care full of the *Cōmmon alth*, notwithstanding their private pleasures, as not to give a voice to one whome they knew to be guilty of so much *M. lities*, as to scratch his head with one finger. Inso much that if a man had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his *virtue*, and Manlike disposition, hee was fain to lift up his Arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

— *Χρηστὸν τὸν πόσι.*

Ἐξωμυσαμένοι τ' ἔπειθ' ἐπαχέοντα. saies *Aristophanes*.  
And good reason for this practice, for,

*Dura per brachia setæ*

*Promittunt atrocem animum* ~ saies *Perseus*. And  
therefore the Woman that desired to be taken for a Man,  
thought this the best Argument she could use

— Πρώτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μαχίρας

λογμῆς διασπύρας.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to  
seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the  
Romans are said to have used (for which service they had  
their *separatus*, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and  
be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, as should not  
indeed be named among us. I will now proceed to speak of a  
chapter *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in *Achilles*  
preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexum diver-*  
*sitatem generato amore sociavit*, as *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

† *Achill. Tat.*  
*Lib. 2.*  
u *Metam. l. 11*

### CAP. III.

#### De Amore Mulierum.

**W**hen first they lifted themselves into the service  
(for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like  
a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as  
to be formally initiated, like so many Priests.

Ἀνδρῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρεσίου μεταγωγίον: saies *Clisophon* to  
*Leucippe*. Εἰ οὐ βίβαν κατημύδην ἔφερον, saies *Ismenias* x to  
his Mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old  
fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Literis ignobilibus pra-*  
*notatos*.

\* *Achil. lib. 2.*  
x *Eustath. l. 5.*  
y *Loco ante lau-*  
*dato.*  
z *Hieroglyphi-*  
*cis.*

Well it seems *Venus* had her *poetria* too, as well as *Ceres*,  
for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoined si-  
lence, as the others were, yet the greatest part of their tat-  
ling was under the Rose.

*Conscius*



## CAP. IV.

*De Amoris Indiciis.*

NOW to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love & the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason; for *Athenus* sayes it hath been a riddle a thousand yeares before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, *διὰ πῶς οὐρανὸν ἐκρύβηται ἑώραν*, *ἢ ἔστι λίσσονται*, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another sign that they were in Love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho* *βραβεῖται δ' ἀκούει*, and *Catullus*,

— *Sonitu suapte* —

*Tintinant aures.* — To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they tooke a lease (whether of *Puppy*, or what it was I know not) they called it *πύριον* *quasi πυρίλαιον* *ἔκδο δὲ πυλωται ἢ εἰλίσσεται*) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoiced, if not they gave a sigh; out alas!

\* *Ὅτι τὸ πυρίλαιον ποῖε μακροῦ χρόνου ἀταξίαν*; sayes *Theocritus Idyll. 3.* So m at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, gilded and called by the name of *Ménis* (n once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each

1 Lib. 15.  
Deipnos.

on *Avi. Iosb.*  
Scholium. Pace.

\* Id. in *Avi-*  
*bus.*



his phiale of Brass (τὴν κέηλον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he list, with a sudden turne of the hand (ἀνέκλινω they call it, and thence κέηλοι ἀγχοῖστοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they called λατῶν from λάτῃ, the *blast* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could doe this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔινω, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his κέηλον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the Leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called κοηβίζειν (as κέηλον was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it,

Ἐπ' αὖ Κοηβίζειν

Συβαρίζειν

Ἴσ' ἰσ' κερυγίζου.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gamboll they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turn it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of κέηλον, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice onely to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἀκούσιον ἦσαν ἔσθ' εἰ

Οἰοῦντο Σικελὸς εἶναι κυλίκων λάτῃας.



## CAP. V.

De Philtris &amp; incantamentis amatoriis.

**B**UT what if she could not be wooen over by fair means? was there then never an Arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*.

Δει δ' ὅς τις ἔστιν ἡ δὴ τὴν αὐτῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς  
Συμμετρεῖ, ἢ λήρον τιν' ἢ πέναν δότο  
λαβὲν *Cupid* τ' ἐν δότῳ ἡδὺν χέει.

Euripides  
Hipp. 512.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illicis oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination. ὁρδαμὴν τινὰ βάμμαον ἀνεσπασατο, he threw a *sheep's eye* at her (saith \* *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls *ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς*, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὁρδαμὸς δ' ὁρδαμῶν, saith *Museus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. ὀρδαμὸς δὲ φῶς ἐστίν, saith \* *Eusebiius*, and so \* *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step \* in *Cupid's* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this *Card* could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter *ἵνα ποτὶ* to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Sisthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the

\* Poet

*Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis  
Pocula; quaque bibit parte Puella, bibe.*

\* Ovid. de  
Arte Am. lib. 1.

Torfooth

Forsooth they thought thus to have a kiss *mediatè* at the second hand waisted over in the cup *καταμινεῖν τὸ εὐαννα*, *Aristænetus* calls it, not to kiss the cup, but to cup the kiss.

*Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris*

*Ille Calix.*

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse

*Ποσειδωνος γὰρ ἐκείνη γυναιξὶς ὅσην ἔστω εὐαννα.* Such a kiss they used to call *ἀποσταλὴν εὐαννα* (*missivum sculum*, or a kiss conveyed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* doe. And by this time they have seen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will try what they can doe with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts and Philtries*: *ἐν αὐτῷ πικρῶν φάρμακων πικρὰ ἐπαδῶν, καὶ ἰσχυρῶν*, sayes *Xenophon*. Τοῦτ' more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*: the last is most likely because of its falacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pisbo* (of *Eccho* saies *Callimachus*) because shee bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very sutable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves, For (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck & tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and punished she is enough for her reguery; for (besides that way I told you of before) sometimes they ty'd her *ἐκείνη* to a wheele (as I think) and charmed a charm as they whirled it round, sometimes (at least the entrails) to a *Συδε* of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire, But what will you say, if all this while it bee nothing but an instrument pleasantly tun'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used

used for any pleasant thing, or inticement. *Ἰογυῖ ἑλκους* *ἱερ* faies\* *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*, muscles, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twilted wool, and divers other gambols of the same branne according to that which I have seen of *Lalins* an ancient Poet.

*Trichiscili, Ungues, tania*

*Aurea, Illices bitortila.*

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted wooll* (\* *πλεκ-  
των ἱερ* \* *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather beleieve that all the gods had *lanas pedes*, woollen feet, as the proverb sayes they had, than that any of them should have *Lanas pedicas* woollen fetters. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lye fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, becaus of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* thertore calls *Saturni compend. mexolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. lib 1. c.8*. Though I beleieve they intended no other than a Magicall tye upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of wooll, rather than any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of wooll, twilted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untied but in the *Goniall-bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-houfe, and the potts of the doores, were bound about with woollen filletings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this *πλεκτὸν ἱερ*, I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

\* *Ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ χαλέβῳ τοινικῶν οὐδὲς αὐτῷ.*

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way, But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that whatever was done to the thing which they used

\* *Nem. Od. 4.*  
*vid. Thuc.*  
*Pharmacentr.*  
*Infusitate*  
*prope finem.*

\* not *πλ-  
των.*

\* *ἱερὸν πλ-  
των.*

\* *Theocrit.*  
*Pharmacentr.*



*Me tibi venturam comitem sponsamque futuram.*

And so made her think shee took, when she did but read the oath. And thus \*Hippomanes threw back Atalanta, by throwing of his Apples Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough: which made k Philenis, being jealous of her sister Thelxinoe complain of Pamphilus his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The I woman of Thessalie are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he saies) *μαλιστα εως, ωστε μη πως ετιεργεν επ τ' ανδρατων επιειν γυναικας.* &c. And so for the women of Egypt (I think the sex hath still had the Monoply of Magick) however the Egyptian m Souldier came to mistake in the *Dofit*, when he gave Lucippe the potion. For instead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæsonia* did her Husband *Caligula*, with an Hippomanes. Those *εληψες*, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the *συρις* (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, *τι ειλεον, ετι δεσφικων εις τα ρασι* \* *Αρεσδιστω*, saies *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *γυναικων διαγρηλαται*, exprestes his dislike of these courtes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I hard of some that can do this, who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit-physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnus*, as (*Pausanias* sayes) they used to doe in *Achaia*; or else by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cause. Whence those words of the Nurse to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, & not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her owne Father.

\* Ovid. Met.  
l 10. fab. 11.  
k Aristen. lib.  
1. 2. 25.  
l Achil. Tat. l.  
Thessale ven-  
die Ph Tra.  
Jurecath.

m Corneas 3.  
pud Tat. l. 4.  
n Suetonius.

\* Ovid. Met. l.  
10. fab. 9.

*Sen Furor est, habeo quod Carmine sanet, & herbis:  
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico lustrabere ritu:  
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabimus iram.*

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

If the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heare (as indeed the soul is naturally inclined \* *ἀπὸρ ἀδελφότης, καὶ διανοεῖται, καὶ μετριοφύειν, ἕτοι καὶ φι-* \* *Plut. in Scælon* to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Toxæus*) you cannot but be of \* *Plutarch's* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, *ἄνθρωπος πρὸς ἑταῖρον καὶ σωτῆρα νέει,* Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men, pray take but a tast of their customes in this particular of expressing their love. To trim up their bodies as they did their own with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or *τὰ ἑσώματα* the parts of the house *a* *Enstath. l. 5m.* exposed to sight when the doors were open, *ἀνεκρόσμων ἑστῶν τῶν παρὸντων*, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary careffe, though indeed (as *b* *Athenæus* saies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of *Ερως*. *τῷ μὲν δὲ θεῷ τὸ εὐαρεσθῆναι ἀγαλλῆα, τέταρτον* *b* *l. 15.* *καὶ τὰν ὄντα ἑταῖρον οἰκιστὴν σεβανῆσαι*, as making the body of a Sweetheart the Image; and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, *τὰ στεφάνια καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέταλα* (saies *Petala* to *Simæon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, *ἄλλα ἀποβουτῶν* (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans when they sate at Table, viz. leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as *c* *Martilla* would have *c* *l. 6 Ep. 7.* *Pontia* send him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or such as *d* *Ovid* speaks of, *d* *Annal. 1. 11. 4.*

*Si tibi furtè dabit, quos prægnstaverit ipse,*



*Rejice libates illius ore cibos.*

e De vitâ  
Cleric. ad  
Nepotian.

But I must tell you S. Hieroms censure, *de gustatos cibos blandosque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be: so amongst you.* Symmachus upon those words of the Birds in Aristophanes — *ἡ τῶν πτερυγίων οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, saies they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the σίπυς, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ἡ περὶ τὴν faith the Scholiast) was passed by without writing thereon the name of the party, in this form ἡ δῖνα καὶ οὐ, or καὶ οὐ καλὸς, for the word καὶ οὐ among the Grecians signified *amatum*, a Womans word, like τῆν οὐ in Theocritus,*

f Diog. Laert.  
in Diademo.

*Ἰουλιανὸς τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν παρὶ δῶμα ἔανδρον.*

Instead whereof (say some) yon shall read καὶ οὐ in the Comedian in *Vespis*, but I see no such need of a correction, for hee speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the employment of the Court, that the καὶ οὐ (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ran still in his mind, and therefore (saies he)

— *αὐτὸν ἰδὼν περὶ γυμνάσιον*

*Τὸν περιάμπευς ἐς οὐρανὸν δῶμα καλὸν,*

*Ἰὼν παρὰ τὰς Κηρὸς Καλὸς.*

In like manner the men dealt with the names of their *Mistresses*, which they wrote sometimes upon the very leaves of the trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

*Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοις κατεμύσα τόσσον ὅσον*

*Γεμίματα, Κυδίππον ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλῶ.*

Let on the leaves so many letters lye,  
As my *Cydippe Fair* may signifie.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his *Ἐρωτις* saies of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*.  
*Τοῦτο δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχέμεν, ὃ πᾶς καλὰ καὶ δίδρυσι τοὺς Ἀρεστίων καλῶς ἐχέμεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed VENUS FAIR. How glad*

a Mid. p. 118.



glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a copy written to them by Nature (for

— *Inscripti nomina rerum*

*Nascuntur flores* —) and an example given them by *Ap' llo* himself, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive when he was dead; not contented with that,

*Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,*

*Flos habet inscriptum* —

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

*Littera communis mediis puerque virque*

*Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.*

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written a *Καὶν & καλὸς* besides upon the same flower.

Νῦν ὅταν δὲ λάλη τὰ σα' ῥήματα, καὶ πάλιν Ἀι Ἀι

Λάμβανε Κοῖς πταλοῖσι, καλὸς πύθνη μιλικτῆς,

*καλὸς* for him, and *καλὸς* for her was sure to be written, for never seem'd *Mistress* foul, and *Prison* fair. But for her part if she were *Κυανόφρων*, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyssin*, καὶ ὁμοῦ *Theocrit.* μέλαινα περικυμένῳ πρὸ ὀμμάτων, infomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρὺς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his *Rhetorick*, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, as he doth σωφροσύνη καὶ φιλοφροσύνη, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ ὥς τὰς πόδας χεῖσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὰς περὶ δρόμον ὥς βίαν ἔδδεν ὅλα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talkt

*Ovid. Met.*  
*Lib. 10. Fab. 5*

*Lib. 13. Fab. 1.*

Seneca Ep.  
115.

\* Tacit.

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never shot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyl and labour upon such a subject, and (it may be) give his censure, that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will distrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am in, I will not stick but *propere sequi quæ piget inchæare*, \* and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

## CAP. VII.

### De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unless the Wench were as yet *Acreba* (as *Varro* calls her) or *καρπυρή ἀμειγμένη*, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) and not yet ripe) *Mathra viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, *promise himselfe* after the manner of the Latin form, *sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *urneset* or other in earnest: but the Woman she was *desponsata*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a Woman were false enough to make the saying among the French to be true,

*Qui femme croit & a ne mesne,  
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.*

And yet (it seems) though they feared she might break a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to hold her: For sometimes at the consummation of the business, they went both into the Temple, & there engaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clistophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαμέμνιν ἀδελφός*, and the Woman *ἀδελφὴ πύθιας*; *ἐμὰς τὰς ἀπορήνας ἀπορίτω*. I do not remember that the Athenians

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a poculum conjugis, as well as *Charitatis* & to pledge their troth in a cup, a trick by which *Camma* is reported to have poison'd a *Synorix* (whom she pretended to Marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by *Q. Curtius*. Suerely it had been a true Roman consecration, if they had. The rites usually observed at a Wedding are said to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of the *shed Virgin* Besides this, before she can cease to be of the herd so the *αἰγυς* \* *αἰγες*, take heed, *Gr. ut Diana* will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the *year*, (and so the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Enripides*.

Ἡ Μόρφη τοῦ γαμου, ὡς διὰ πινῶν ἔχων  
Ἄρτιον

c *Enripid* in  
*Iphigen. Aul.*  
Versu 11, 12.

And therefore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

Ἡ Προτέρα δ' ἡδὲ παρ' ὅς ἐστιν αἰνῶν;

f *ibid.* v. 711.

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, she had not so much to do as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the Goddess of *Aulis*, and be made a Calf her selfe: When as our woman, it will serve her turn to *κατασχεῖν* to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginitie*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose *ἢ Ἄρτις μὴ ἐμὴ* - *g Theocr. Id.* - that she would no take it amiss if she married. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the *κατηγόρια*, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The manner

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Beare growing tame, came and lived in the *σῆμα* of the *Phlaviæ*; insomuch that at length a little girl durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*; whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girl in the City of *Athens*, some time or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a *χροατὶς* or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her selfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girl thus consecrated, was her self called *ἄρετος* the \* Bear, and the action *ἀρετίζα* and *ἀρετίζειν* to play the Bear (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes *ἀνατίζειν*, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in <sup>a</sup> *Lenisfrate*.

\* *Harpocr.*

<sup>a</sup> *Aristoph.*

Εἰ τ' ἀρετὴς ἢ δέκατος

οὐσα τ' ἀρετίζεις

καταχέουτα χροατὶν ἐν Βραυρωνίῳ.

<sup>b</sup> *Εν Βραυρωνίῳ* she saies, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who <sup>a</sup> is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (in *Atticis*) saies, that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* <sup>b</sup> *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cicrops* his own law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, & was therefore called by the name of *ἄρως*, saith *c* *Enstathius*; or else (according to the Scholiast upon *d* *Aristophanes*)

<sup>a</sup> *Athen. l. 6.*

<sup>b</sup> *Pausan. in Arcad.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ad Odyss.*

<sup>d</sup> *Σ.*

<sup>e</sup> *In Plat.*

*Al. 3. Sc. 3.*

*Epaphros* ) quasi *ἐξ ἑνὸς σώματος τὰς δύο φύσεις ἔχει πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς*, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *knowledge*) and in the way of a certain couple ) or rather, if you will, the natures of a Father and a Son ; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures : in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as *hesaies* (in *Vespis*)

Ὁ καὶ ποτὶ ἡρώδης ἀνέβη τὰς ἀρὰς περὶ τὴν δραπετὴν αὐτοῦ.

And others, because of the many excellent Lawes which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he seem'd to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of a *new* nature ; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes *ῥηδογίνης* who saies he was called by this name, because the children did now appear to be *διγενεῖς*, come of two, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μωρογενεῖς*, the Sons of a Mother only ; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nursing to Bears & Wolves and the like. But enough of this ; for I have more worke for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *past*, and in special manner to *Junonia*, either as a *Pronuba* for the *present*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in *Plantus* calls her) for the *future*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their conditions and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready *εὐπρόσθετος*, &c. (as *Aristotle* saies in his *ἠθικῶν*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Iuno* went under the severall names of *προγάμια*, *προτελευσία*, and *πρετλησὶς θυγατρὸς*, *ἡγετελευσία*, and *γαμήλιοι δοχαί*, indeed the two first

*Lib. 25.*

*In Amphitr.*  
*Act. 2. Sc.*

*Lib. 1. c. 4.*

first are sometimes the same that *ῥοδόχα*, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word *προθήκη* is used also sometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another (c) place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

Ἄς τιμῆς προτελίζῃσι τὴν νεανίδα  
 Ἀυλίδῃ ἀνδρῶν πόνον ἄλλῃ ποτε.

(d) *Jul. Tull.* 3. And so sometimes to the (d) *Parca*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spare'd*, or to *spin* out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great

deal more request among Lovers, than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouthes. For among the *Latines*, when they would expresse themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet \* by the name of *Juno*.

\* *Plaut* in  
*Casina* Act. 1.  
 Sc. 3.

*Eja mea Juno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.*

Adde hereunto the title of *Ἡρατελεία*, (as there is also *καὶ τίλει*) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word *προτελής*) must be so said, either from *τίλει* anciently put for *γάμος* (as *τελειῶν* was for *γάμος*) from whence comes *τελεῖον* both the Sacrifice and the day, or from *προτελεῖν* to initiate, or from *τίλει* *adultus*, as if onely such as were of age (& *ἐὶς τελεῖον*) \* might be suffered to have the happiness to marry. Now *Juno adulta*, and *Jupiter adultus*, were the more religiously worshipped at such a time, ὡς πορταίης ὄντες ἢ γάμων (saies *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanis*, and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of cry about sacrifices, but you'll say the *Wool* is to come: onely some *ποντοὶ* there must be, lest any Roman should gudge the *Woman* the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of them. The gifts called

\* *Aristotle*.



called by *Demosthenes* γαμνλία; was that which they sent to the *οπαίτες* for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἔδρα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a woing) But the ἔδριον γάμου, was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the Jew, (a) & the Gentile) And you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven; for if she brought her σύμβας, she had her ἐμπόσια to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her selfe: for else (it may be) before it was come thus farre, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne's abandonne*, she that gives is soon gotten. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they call'd μελίσια ἐμπυσία as were those which were given after the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, *αερίξ*: that which was afterward added to improve it, *ἐμπ' αερίξ*. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be two free of their distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀναγκαυτήσια (which was also the name of the day it selfe) otherwise called θαύρητρα, ἐπὴν-ων, ἀθήματα and προσθατήσια, and all for the same reason, viz. because those gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur se videri, saies* (b) *Victorius*, to make her take off her vail, and be seen. In such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*.

Τὸς ἑὰ πότε Κερείδης δῶκεν πόρε Περσεφόει

Ἐγχαί' ὅτι κερῆεν τὴν ἐμπόσιον εὐαλδῶς

Νυμφίῳ ἀνέροιο παρὰ γένετα κλέυστρον.

Κλέυστρον saies he, or κλύετρον according to *I. Pollux*: for al-



though she might now show her face and be modest never-  
theless, yet before, she stood behind a red vail or hood, with  
which she hid her selfe, & so deserved the name of *Ἰφίγη* if it  
were for nothing else <sup>a</sup> but for that. This *Luteous* vail is o-  
therwaies called *ἑλκή* <sup>a</sup> *ὄς*, in Latin *Flammum*, <sup>a</sup> in Hebrew *חֲרָדָה*  
such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Hus-  
band, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when she met with a worse  
thing, *c.* 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till  
they came to be covert *Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Spacia*  
they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited  
by <sup>b</sup> *Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under these words in  
*πῆς μὲν κόρης ἀνδρῶν ἑνὲν δὲ, πῆς δὲ γυναῖκος σὺ ζεν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*.  
the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome  
though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great *aim*  
when I say, *Auſta fuga forma est* -  
(as *Ovid* saies of *Pentis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I  
expresse my selfe in the words of *Nonnus*.

*Καὶ πῶς ἑνὶ ἑνὶ καλυπτομένη ὁ προσώπου.*

Men long to see a face thats hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocra-  
tes*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest,  
put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being deman-  
ded his *ἀνακαλυψήρια*, very handsomely answered to put  
it off, *ἐχθαλυψήρια μὲν ἔν περὶ τῷ λαμβάνον, I had more need  
to give her somewhat to let her vail alone, unlesse she were better  
than she is.* Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making  
that their ordinary *πέπλα* were, I cannot well tell; but if they  
were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of  
<sup>a</sup> *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, *Ἐγὼ δὲ λεπτὸν  
ἄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων ἔχουσιν* --) then I must tell you, they were  
to thin, that their faces might well have been discovered, and  
the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it seems, could see the  
flowers thorow them.

<sup>a</sup> See another  
reason in *Prov.*  
3. 19.

<sup>a</sup> *Juv.* Sat. 2.

<sup>b</sup> *L. 13. 45.*

<sup>a</sup> *14. Anl. v.*  
372.

<sup>b</sup> *Emip. Hel. v.*  
150.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὅτι καὶ χλοερά  
Δρεπταίναν ἔσαν πέπλων  
ῥόδα πύπλα---*



was sent to fetch her, either fate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in another, & was therefore called *παις*, from *παρ*; unless that she were either willing, or constrain'd to *foot* it, for then he could be but *παυδίας* a *Pede*. This custome for the husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a *proxie* (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies <sup>a</sup> *Eustathius*) *ἡ δὲ νύμφη* (verily saies <sup>b</sup> *Polix*) *ἡ νύμφη* *αὐτὴν*, he might not do it himselfe, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former wife were dead, as (it may be) I shall have occasion to show you hereafter. Besides the *νύμφη*, or the *Brideman*, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a *νύμφη*, or a *Brid woman* to take off her vaile, and dresse, and undresse, and do other such offices as should be required Her *Wedding Ornaments* were pretious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as <sup>a</sup> *Hermione* had in the Tragedy. *Καμὲν ἰδὲ ἀμύραν χρυσῆν χλιδῆν.* Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple, save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) *ἔβδα γ' ἢ ἄλλους ἑσθόν ἢ χῶρα ἡ πρόεδρος ἐκείνη χρυσῆν;* and there it was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

*Οὐπω ἔτι εἰδὺς πολυχρῶν Ἀφροδίτη.*

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this custome to interpret *ἡ δὲ νύμφη* (in <sup>b</sup> *Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the *Doors* all hung with *Garlands* already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies <sup>c</sup> *Apulitus*: it seems they carryed not till <sup>d</sup> *Juvenals* time — *Foribus suspende Coronas*

*ſam pater es* — Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House*, for she her selfe had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achillis*.

<sup>a</sup> *In Homeri Il. 6.*

<sup>b</sup> *In 3. 6. 5.*

<sup>a</sup> *Enrip. Androm. 147.*

<sup>b</sup> *In 1. 10.*

<sup>c</sup> *In 3. 5. 1.*

<sup>d</sup> *Sat. 9.*

δ Σοὶ κατὰ φανέρω νύμφον οἷς γαμυλῶν.

d Eurip. Ephig.  
in Aul. v. 705.  
a Declam. 39.

And (I think) her Husband too. *καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν μητέρα*, saies <sup>a</sup> *Libanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Lantreis januam infamabit*, saies <sup>f</sup> *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*; or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*, or else of the leaves of the hearbs *Σισυμβριον*, *Σισυμβριον*, and *Μικρον*, and so they made them at *Athens*, *Σισυμβριον* & *Μικρον* & *Απύμειρα* ἐν ἴδῃ οἷς τερανύων οἷς νύμφῃς, saies the <sup>a</sup> *Scholiast*, the leaves had the name of the Hearb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum* leaves had the name of *Σισυμβριον*, or *Σισυμβριον*, but the *Cake* which they made of the grain was called *Σισυμβριον*. For *Cakes* they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the <sup>a</sup> *Comœdy* (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

f De Co. or.  
Milit. c. 13.

a Upon Ari-  
stoph. in Pa.

Ὁ πακοὺς πίπτει Σισυμβριον ζυμωλῆται.

a Aristoph.  
Pac.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing *ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ γινέται* (saies the *Scholiast*) as it were the herb *Polygammus*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembering her hair with a spear (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the losse of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as <sup>b</sup> some say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a Spear *hastam cœlibarem*. The reason why the Woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *quasi sortes eâ de causâ viros se geniturâ ominantur*, because she ominated that by this meâs <sup>b</sup> *Alex. ab A-*  
*she should have strong men to her children, or quod sponsi discipline* *lex. l. 2. c. 5.*  
*se subditâ fateatur*. Because she acknowledged her selfe subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fa-  
thers

a Aristoph. in  
Pluto.

thers house, she was to be lifted out over the threshold, just as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a contraint. You see, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almost every where, and yet they say, that *Love will Creep where it cannot goe*. As she entred into her Husbands house, the <sup>a</sup> Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an omen of fruitfulnessse, <sup>ῥαπισμα</sup> *ῥαπισμα*, (saies Rhodiginus out of Theopompus) which puts me in mind of a foolish custom once in fashion with some of Us, viz. upon *Twelve Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toasted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whatsayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitul year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called <sup>καταχύσματα</sup> *καταχύσματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comædy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon him, and so to give him the *toy* for his new bought eyes; saies she

— καὶ σὺ καταχύσματα  
ἔσπῃς νεωρῆτοισιν ἐξ ἀλλοδαμοῖς ἰγῶν.

a Cæf. Theod.  
l. 28. c. 21.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first comming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to *sm* upon his head <sup>κόλλυβας, ἰγῶν, αἰνίγματα</sup> *κόλλυβας*, *ἰγῶν*, *αἰνίγματα*, Junkets, and Figs, and Palmbranches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as he sayes, <sup>εἰς εὐτυχίας σημεῖον</sup> *εἰς εὐτυχίας σημεῖον*, to make it an omen of fruitfulnessse (as they had done to his Master before) but also for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in Oxford) do the *Freshmens gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon them for a *victim*. In the cutting of it up (to shew that in VVedlock all bitterness and choller must be cast aside) they took the <sup>a</sup> Gall, and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nupti-  
als were dissolv'd, and thus it hapned to <sup>b</sup> *Clitophon*, and <sup>b</sup> *Ach. Tat. l. 1.*  
*Calligone*; for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the  
Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was  
usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the  
Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the <sup>c</sup> *Eurip. Iph. in*  
practise of *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him *A. v. 721.*  
to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiously made an-  
swer yes,

ὅταν γὰρ ποῦναι δ' αὖτ' ἔχλω δότω σπότε.

When I have done my *Wedding Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practise in  
*Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe*  
and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers *Libanius De-*  
in a more especiall manner to *Jupiter* *Οὐρανός*, and *Juno* *claus. 33.*  
*Ζεύς*, if it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ παρὰ τὴν  
ἐκείνην, ὁ οὐρανὸς Δία, καὶ Ἡὸν Εὐρυκίαν ἐστὶν ἀνέστη. By rea-  
son of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you  
will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to  
disturb the busines never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to  
either of the parties, especially to the Wife: as for instance;  
One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocius*  
*Calice 73.*) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they  
summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to an-  
swer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my  
Author) τὰ ἐπιδουρὰ ἰδόντες ἐπεπαναμένε, καὶ γνόντες ὅς ἐστιν τὸ  
αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, ἀπέστειλε καὶ ζήτησαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι: καὶ ὁ δὲ ἀνέστη καὶ  
ἔπειτα τὴν αὐτὴν πορεύσασθαι, as soone as they saw but the  
signs of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door)  
& were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, because they would  
not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they  
made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned present-  
ly back againe, and the Court was contented with the *news*.  
So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted  
severall Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest



one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μήτε αὐτὴν, μήτε ἀναμιώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. a Πρὸς γὰρ γυναικὴν γυναῖκα ἢ διὰ χρημάτων δουλίαν ἀπέρητον ἀνδρὸς, ἐκ ἐνόμισαν ἀμειώσκειν εὐφροσύνῃς ἢ), because they thought it a thing no way befeeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their Gods, they made hast to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deal of good cheer, the Man and the Wife were alwaies noted (a) for a great deal of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughes of Acorns, singing as he went βέουρον καὶ δὲν, εὖρον ἀμεινον, I (or they) have avoided a worse evill, and met with a better. If he spake in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the three evils at the least; & so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of feeling her, for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some lesse by the money*. The Musick which they had was singing ἀμειβόμενοι, by turns; and calling upon *Hymeneus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) c ὕμνην, ὦ ὕμνην, ὦ ὕμνην, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

*Io Hymen, Hymenae, Io Hymen.*

And this they did either in a thankfull commemoration of one of that name, who had sometimes sav'd the Maides of *Athens* from a generall ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a sorrowfull commiseration of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies.

*Quid*

a Pheolus ib.

a Athenæus l. 9.

b Zenobius.

c Aristoph. in Avio.



*Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?*

Saies he in <sup>a</sup> *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep <sup>a</sup> *In Casa*  
such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their <sup>a</sup> *To Hymen* <sup>Al. 4. Sc. 3.</sup>  
*Hymenæus*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

Ὅτιν' ξυὸν ὁ μαναιὶς ἐν ἑξέσει κόβω.

saies *Clytemnestra*; <sup>b</sup> which agrees with that of the other  
Poet in the same place.

<sup>b</sup> *Eurip. Iphig.*  
in *A. v. 693.*

*Age tibicen dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,*

*Snavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc platam, Hymenæa.*

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the Woman first  
in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I mistake not)  
*Laëtantius* ha's somewhat of such a thing, & I might speak  
more of *Priapus*, too, if it were fitting. As the woman was  
led into the Chamber (τὸ θάλαμον or τὸ σατυδῶν) to shew  
whereto shee must, there was a sieve carried along with  
her, and a pestle hung at the door, σπιῖα αὐτορρίαι (as *I.*  
*Pellux* saies) or to signify that hereafter she must learn to put  
her hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Wo-  
man were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion  
is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were  
to take a *Quince* apple, and eat it between them, ὅτι δὴ  
τὸν ἀπὸ σατυδῶν, καὶ σαυῆς χάριν εὐδαιμονοῦν τὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἡδέειαν,  
saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signify the pleasantness  
and harmony which should be in their talk at first. And yet not-  
withstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a  
Chough would but come and scold (*grave cornicaritur* for-  
sooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at  
least) and leave the building imperfect; and this they called  
ἀνεπιτέλειον δῶμα: or γάμον ἀτελῆν, because by this means

—a *Conjux miseranda Cayco*

a *Plot. Flac.*

*Linguitur, & primo Dimus Imperfecta cubili.*

δῶμα I said (or if you will εἰπερὶ ἑξέσει speak a little finer)  
*δωμάτιον*; for this word is many times used by it self for θά-  
λαμον, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Republ.*  
speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ἔτοις ἐκπληγέτω ἐξ ὄντα τ' ἦγεν, ὥστε

b Ery. l. 2.

ἴη' ἰς τὸ δαμα'νον ἐθέλειν ἔλθειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ βαλόμενον χαμαὶ σφ-  
γίνασθαι. And yet I think <sup>b</sup> *Hesiod* (without any wrong done  
him) may be understood of any other business lest *Rough-*  
*hewn*, *unpolish'd*, or not *done over* againe, when he saies

c Apud Enstath.  
l. 5.

Μηδὲ δ' ὡς πο' ὦν ἀνέπ' ἔσται καταλήσειν

Μή ται ἐδεζόμεν κροῖα λαχέμεν καρώνην.

c *Ismenias* applies it indeed to our purpose; but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boies to cry κῶην *εὐκέρει* καρώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: καρώνην (I say) and not καρώνην, in the plural number; for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* is suppos'd to have mistaken; because neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unlesse it came in the singular number; and then the birds being singled and divided one from the other, could not possibly be a good signe to those that were to be coupl'd, and joined together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for very good lucky birds (as we use to say) let them come how they will; either because they are πολυζων (as *Homer* calls them) long-liv'd, or because

a Alex. ab Alex.  
l. 6. 5.

ca cornicum societas est (saies none) ut ex duabus Sociis, altera extinguitur, vidua altera perpetuo maneat. Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, viz. κλίνην κομ-  
κλιν, & κλίνην ἀνταρτίαν, or a *side-bed* for a change, or ἑστὴ τῇ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν, saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κρεῖδον λέχθ, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so κρεῖδον \* δῶμα for the house, and κρεῖδον for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νυμφικὸν λου-  
τρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lusistrata*. Σπρ. ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένη ἔλυσ' ἐγώ

d Homer.

Χορ. Κορεύματ' ἐν τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigens* when he intended to marry  
Opera,

*Opera*, giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἄλλ' εἴπω' ὡς πάρος ταυτὴν λαβόν  
Καὶ τὴν πύλον καταλύξαι, καὶ δάμαρ' ὕδωρ,  
Στόρεν δῖμος καὶ τῇ καλίδον λέχῳ.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe*-well, ἐκ τῆς καλιδῶντος, εἰτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐννεακρήνης καλιδῶντος. But afterward, saies <sup>a</sup> *Pollux*, from *Enneacrurnos*, which was so called <sup>a</sup> *L. 3. c. 3.* because it had nine severall κρήνες, or *sistulas*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrurnos* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what *fair Water* it was, or how well and cleare it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very well be thought so by that verse of <sup>b</sup> *Statius*.

*Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis*

<sup>b</sup> *Theb. 12.*

*Implicat—*

Nay, *Thucydides* saies positively, they were the same. Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usuall when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrurnos*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς καλιδῶντος, εἰτ' αὖθις τῆς ἐννεακρήνης καλιδῶντος. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrurnus*. The woman whom they employ'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the *Λαδιστρίς*. When the Wife was ready to undress, her Mother tooke her hairlace, and winding it about one of the torches (for they had *δύο τρεῖς τε ὑμενίστας* too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The Mother I said. For she commonly would *ἀδελφεῖν*, carry the torches, or hold the candle to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to doe.

— *Non te duxit in thalamos parens*

*Comitata primos, nec sua fesse manu*

*Ornavit ades, nec suâ letas faces*

*Vittâ revinxit* —

Saies \* 7 casta.

\* Seneq. Theb.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd: whether it were *Corylis*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*, or *Larix*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans: and so likewise for their number, whether the custom were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, viz. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Inno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, and *Lucina*, they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise why should the covetous Father in a *Libanius* complain so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter (that he could not ἐν λύχῃσι πῶς ὑμεῖς ἀγάγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one & on more. But for the bearer, that it was usually the Mother, will appear by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the \* *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, and leave her daughter with him, she askt him

\* Eurip. Iph.

in *Ant.* v. 7. 34.

— τίς δ' ἀγαγήσει εἰς ὄροσ, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered ἐγὼ πατέρα οὖν, ὁ θυμὸς κρίνει, that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she ἔχ' ἂν ἑμὲ εἶπ' ἔσθ' ἡ σὺ καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἡ γυνὴ τὰδε, that was never the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome & fitting. & indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd: for it seemes to have been reckoned not so much the office and the charge, as the Priviledge, and the honour of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to bee debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. O my dear children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before I carry the Torches.

a Eurip. Med.  
1025.

Ἄρετον λέεισα, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γαμήλιος  
Ἐνός ἀγῆσαι λαμπύρας τ' ἀσχεθύν.

\* Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more then other fathers used to doe. *ὁ δὲ δὲς λαμπάδας ὑπαννῆσθαι*: I lighted the Torch, saies he in \* *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between<sup>Decl. 35.</sup> them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children, *Εὐὼ μὲν λαμπάδα λαμπήεντι ἄμεινον προσέειπεν* (not only *ἀπαρτίειν*) *τοῖς ἡδέστοις καὶ τῷ παρθένοισι*; I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* shaved the woman (whether because she had vowed to be henceforth her Husband's) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the, \* *Israelites* when she was thus us'd, certainly the people there would have taken her for a captive Wife.) The *Zona*<sup>Dent. 21 12.</sup> which the Woman wore was untyed by the Husband in the bed *ζώνη γὰρ ὡς ὁ κίσκος ὅν ἔδουσαν αἱ παρθένοι; ὅς καὶ ἐκ ἐλεύθευ ὀρίσας ἀσφάδευοι γίνονται*, saies the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λυσιζώνη* might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child bearing, and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, theres the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestis*.

*ὦ Λάκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένη ἐλυγ' γυ'*

*κορένματ' ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρός.*—

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Hercula-*

*nous* *nodus* formerly mention'd; because (I suppose) they call'd it by that name in allusion not so much to *Hercules* his strength, as if they would have it the *fast*, that is the stronger ty'd, as to his happinesse in making of children, as if they would have it the *fast*er *unty'd*, as fast as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had seventy children just. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) stood at the chamber door, and sung their *ἐμδαλμα*, or *γαμήλια*, with as great noise as possibly they could, *ἦν δ' ἡ παρθένος βιοζούσῃς, καὶ τ' ἀνδρὶς ἡ σὺν ἡμῖν ἐξελκίσσῃς*, saies the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, so that if the Wife should *Cry out* (as we say) before her *time*, she might not be heard. Which they had no such need to doe, if that be true which they say, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the *συφεύς*, usually did him that good office, to stand sentinel at the door, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not so much *wedded* to his *pleasure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his *friends*, for besides the feast which he made altogether for the women (called *θεσμοφεία*, by *Isæus* in his oration for *Pyrhus*) he made another for the *νεγυρῆς*, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings was properly called *δῶσαι τὸν γάμον*, as it is in the Tragedy.

Κ' ἀπειτα δῶσαι τὸν γάμον—

*Iphig. in Aul. v.* And a little before.

707, & 720.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔδωσαν πρὶν ἢ γάμον δοῦν.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they also kept a *Feast* of purpose for the women besides. And therefore saies *Clytemnestra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτις πῶ γυναιξὶ θύομεν.

The saying *aujourd'hui marié, & demain mari*, to day *Wedded*, and to morrow *sadd*, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the *Wedding*, the *Mirth* ran as fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the house



house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloath's and all sorts of Houſhold ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a custome obſerved by the *Lacedemonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was ſaine to make a Law to reſtraine the Suits to the number of three, and the reſt of the things to a lower price. The gifts then beſtowed, they called *ἑσπυλία* (as thoſe which I preſented you before, were called *ἑσπυλία*) and ſometimes *διαπαρδόνια*, as being that which (to ſpeak in *Juvenal's* words)

*Primâ pro nocte datur* — and ſuch gifts *Medea* once ſent by her children to *Glauca*. But ſo with the vengeance, as ſhe made them *ἄδρα δῶρα*, killing her with the Spit, from which ſhe gave her the roaſt.

Πέμψα δ' αὖ πρὸ δῶρ' ἑσπυτίας ἐς χεῖρ' αὖ

Νύμφῃ παρδόντας &c.

a *Enrip. Med.* v.

784.

l. *Pollux.* l. 3.

c. 3.

And this puts me in mind of ſome that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing *προάμυλια* for the firſt *ἑσπυλία* (when the garment called *ἑσπυλημία* was given by the Woman to the man) for the ſecond, and *ἑσπυλία* for the third.

## CAP. VIII.

*Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.*

THE time of the year which they deemed moſt lucky to Marry in (for almoſt every Nation has had their *neſaſtons* time and dayes) was the firſt Moneth of the Winter. (Cleane contrary to the cuſtome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and ſet upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they chalked but one part of the year, I hope they did not mark all the reſt with a coale, neither can I think they had the ſame opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, a *Menſe malus Maii nūb. re.* a *Ovid. l. 5.*

A a

it



Quæst. Rœn.  
2. 6.

it may be *malum* by <sup>b</sup> *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be brought to bed (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the day was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might goe to bed the sooner. Just at these seasons *Thetis* in \* *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

\* *Iphim.* H.

— ἐν δὲ θυγατρὶδεσσὶ  
Δὲ ἐσπερίας ἐρατὴν  
Λύσι καὶ χαλκὸν ὤ-  
— ρ' ἦραι παρθεύσαι.

\* *ἐργ.* l. 3.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be borne ἐν τετάρτῃ *Quarta Luna*, as *Hercules* had Besides \* *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I beleieve he meanes ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinus* bird did *obscurare* or *occidere*, sing another song to the contrary.

\* Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν δὲ δικὸν ἀκούειν  
\* Ὡς καὶ κρίνας ὅς ἐστιν ἐργασίη τέτρω ἀεὶ.

a *Emipr.* *Iphig.*  
in A. v. 717.

Whereas the ἐκ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesse especially having a *Agamemnon* too (a man) on my side, who when the question was ask'd — ἦντι δὲ ἡμέρᾳ γαμήν; made answer.

\* Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχίας ἔλθῃ κλέει.

When that blest season of Full Moon shall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous as to think Marriage to be imperfect, unlesse it were at the full, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were in *Medio*, like the vertues. Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Noxæ*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black & unsuitable with

with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-daies whatsoever, and the reason you have given by <sup>b</sup> *Macrobius* in these words, *Feris autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: ideo tunc vitantur nuptiae, in quibus vis si. ri virginibus videtur:* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is the first daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe, if she married upon the Nones. Tis true a *Widow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a custom to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But so much may suffice concerning the time of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

CAP. IX.

*Quae requirantur in Marito.*

**T**HE Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he must be no lesse then five and thirty yeares old, according to the Law; and according to <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle* two yeares elder. But according to <sup>a</sup> *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is reasonable enough.

Μῆτε ὀνηκώτερον ἔτιον μάλ' ἀπολλ' ἀνελίπων

A a 2

Mir<sup>a</sup>

μήτ' ἐπιθῆις μάλα πολλόν.

Thirdly if the Woman with home he was to Marry, were ἐπικληρῶ, sole daughter and Heire (such a one as *Aristophanes* in *Vespis* calls ἐπιπαμίδου or πατριῶνον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him, and plead to the same, and then such Women were called ἐπιδοῦσαι, <sup>b</sup> and the whole suit Ἀμοιβήσις: The question was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of no account, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτ' ἐνδοιμείδω μὴ τι υπέρχεται λόγος παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ υπεργιάνει πάγων, *whosoever shall super-inducere nonvercam, let him be ἀτιμῶ, &c.* Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame) gave one pretty reason more against being the Husband of two Wives in this sense, by way of dilemma: you shall have his words, as I found them in <sup>a</sup> *Arsenius* his Ἀποφύματα Φιλοσόφων &c, saies he, εἴτ' ἐπιτυχὴς γυνήκει τὸ σὺν περὶ ἀνηλικῶν ἐσθ' ἀπασαν: εἴτ' ἂν ἐπιτυχὴς μανικὸν τὸ πῖεσι δ' ἀπὲρσι λαβεῖν σάκεον. ἢ δ' ἀληθείας ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς παύμασι ἀμαρτῶν ἀφ' ὧν ἂν δικαίως νομιθεῖν, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art a little better then a Foole or a Madman, to stumble againe at the same stone.*

b I. Poll. l. 3.  
c. 3.

a Macmabassie  
Archiepif.

## CAP. X.

*Qua requirantur in Uxore.*

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First, she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoake*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted *συνουσία* rather than *γάμος*, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) *κίχνην ἐξαιουμένην* — — If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand *δραχμαίς* to the City. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Aristophan*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty yeares of age. And yet *Aristotle* even in *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young: both because ἐν τοῖς τέλει πορνεύει μάλλον, &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used to make such hast, ἀπλείεις καὶ μικροὶ τὸ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is \* another *Hesiod. Oper* who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he,

\* Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τίττω ἡβήην, πέμψω δὲ γαμῶντι.

And \* another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

\* Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἡβήην ὕλασεν, ἀγαγὼν γάμον.

a *Strap. in Hel.*  
v. 12.

*Cum ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.*

Thirdly, she must be but one, and no more according to *Athenaus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; whom they made use of only *ad noncumbendum* for the present occa-

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for *γυναικες*, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? For I have read he did; and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcil'd again by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandsome man. But \* others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμεν ἀνδρες* Unless you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* herselfe, though she were *super indulta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

— ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἄνδρες

δοῖν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμεν.

a *Eurip. Andr.*  
drom. v. 177.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the Chorus.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον χεῖμα θνητῶν ἔσθ' ἔστι,

Καὶ ζυγαῖαι δὲ συζυγίαι καλῆς ἀνδρῶν.

Such envious things the Women are,

That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

b *Eurip. ib.*

And verifi'd they have been not onely by her owne example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then a *partu retinere maritus*. Thus *Neoptolimus* was made to hate his wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

— ἡμεῖς δ' ἀνδρῶν φαρμάκους οἴσθ' ἔσθ' ἔστι,

Νηδὺς δ' ἀκούω δὲ σὺ μοι διδάσκου.

When such courses as these are taken

*Turpida*

<sup>b</sup> *Turgida non prodest conditâ pyxide Lyde*, Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the lash of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, she might be halfe a sister to the Husband, so it be meant not *δουούρη*, or *δουράνη*, or *uterina*, but only *μοπαδρη*, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Emilius Probus*, (whether in its *germane* sense I know not) where he speaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen non magis amare, quâ patris more ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet eodē patre natas Uxores ducere* This act of *Cimon's*, *Athenens* thinks to have been done *ἀδρῆναι*, contrary to the Laws, & so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publik manner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him *συνῆναι*, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *πυθαῖα*, but *συνεῖναι*, \* taking her into his house to live with him, and that for a lawfull cause, (as he thought) viz. because she was to seek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not see how he could by a Grecian well be excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike barbarous.

— παῖς τὴν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἦν

Κόρη τ' ἀνδρῶ —

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,  
Or Sister with the Brother.

Unlesse you will maintaine the goodnesse of the practise then, by the greatnesse of the Person that used it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Justly, she must be no Bastard, unlesse she were intended for a Bastard-maker, and in a *Proletarians* manner, only for breed, I meane for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better then what *Talithibius* once said poor *Cassandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, viz. *ἀλέων σκῶν μεδότης*, and the Children little better then *Σκώτιοι*, if the Father were more in the dark.

<sup>a</sup> *Enrip. in Troad. v. 251.*

As

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπίκληρος; one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Estate: or ἐπιπροσηύχου; that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a πορτὶς, or a portion. Inso much that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπορίη, yet he would have the γραφαί, the Writings, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐνέχευεν τὴν ἀπορίην, make over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd ἀποτήνυμα.

a Harpocr.

## CAP. XI.

## De Divortis.

And now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part, for they divided their Month into three parts,) or else if she were an ἐπίκληρος she might goe to another, unless he were able to excuse himselfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as coming from Funerals is accounted by <sup>b</sup> Hesiod in those words of his:

Μῆν' ἀπὸ Νουμῶν τὰς ἀπονοστήσας  
Σεμαίνει γὰρ νόμος.

b l. 2.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable then other, and some fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the same Poët: speaking of the sixth day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδρόγονος δ' ἀγλαῖος κέρη δ' ἢ σὺμμερος ὄσσι.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐδλή δ' ἀνδρόγονος δικάτη, κέρη δ' ἑτετέρας.

But if they were about any soleimne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

And



and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstaine altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, *pure habere*, as the Poët call'd it in *Asinario*.

*Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.*

If a Wife that was an ἐπικληρονομή were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a Writ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπικληρονομίας, otherwise called ἐισαγγελία, and be suffer'd to leave him; and this they call'd ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with her, it was call'd ἀποπέμψαι, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to leave, or to put away the other, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. In-  
somuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to buy his pigge in the poke, the Ephori impos'd a mulct upon *Lyfander* himselfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, 'twas a thousand times worse then ἀποπέμψαι, even flat Rebellion, or delinquency at the best. Heare but what *Medea* saies of it

<sup>a</sup> Schol. in *Ar-*  
*istoph. in Equit*

<sup>b</sup> *Eurip. Med.*  
v. 236.

— ἡ δὲ δουλεύει ἀπαλλαγῇ

τὸν ζῆλον, ὅς δ' ἴδοντ' ἀνὴρ αἰσώσας.

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor Wife if she be well us'd tis true, ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς αὐτοῦ — *no life like hers* — εἰ γὰρ, — *but if ill* — θάνατον χερσὶν — *there is no remedy but death*, or she had better be out of the life. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife; or one Husband in all: and what a disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, <sup>a</sup> *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestis*, thus threatening her Husband, if he married againe, though she were dead.

<sup>a</sup> In *Alcest.* v.  
464.

Εἰ ὃ π κενὸν ἔλοιτο πόσις ἀρχή:

Ἡ μάλ' ἐμοὶ γ' ἀνείη στυγερὴν.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complain'd, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugall yoke too strait; and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to consider if the cause were lawfull, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands house againe: and when this was done, she might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ ἡ φοικὸς *Cerē*, or allow her maintenance; and so much a Month for use, as long as he detained the mony.

## C A P. XII.

*De Mulierum scleragogiâ, & servilibus ministeriis.*

**B**VT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient Cause to complaine, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as these were many times offered. I do not so much stand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever a *Hecuba* has complain'd of that employment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poore old Maid in the <sup>b</sup> Poët might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

— τὸ δ' ἄγγυ & τὴν δ' ἐρεβρῶν κέρεα

φέρουσι πηρὰς πηγαίης ὡς πέτρους.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying Water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too: for <sup>c</sup> *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-head,

(a) *Apud Eurip. Troad.*

v. 293.

(b) *Id. in El. Et.*  
v. 55.

<sup>c</sup> L. 3. Faß.

head, a good caveat for all sleepy Servants)

*Ponitur è summâ fœtilis urnâ Comâ.*

And so likewise I did once conjecture that the men amongst them used to carry Water and other things too, much in the same manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, because of that which the Poët saies of *Olysi* for his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀποτὶ δ' αὐχένι

Τόδ' αὖ ἐβέντας κατὰ βορᾶς κερήμενός

Κραταύς δ' ὕδρηλός —

Now whereas I mention'd only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing befeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or so much as to know what was done there, πρὸ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐπαγγέλλαντο εἰσελθόντες περὶ. It is *Aristotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at least κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου, though not κατὰ τὴν λέξιν (to use the words of *Tuscanus* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and only a Latine translation of one *Arbuthnotus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travell too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition. If any thing grieve her (saith he) she has no more company to make known her griefe unto, than μίαν ψυχὴν, her owne poor soule: And whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warre, and does this and that, I for my part saies she

— τρίς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα

Στήθεσσι θάλομαι ἂν, μάλλον ἢ πικρὴν ἀπαχθῆ.

— Three times to beare a shield

Thrice better do it think, then once to beare a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or lesse, according to her Fathers liberality in her

B b 2

Portion

a *Æticip. in Med.*

2. 244. 10 251.

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache*, that in this she came behind her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: my Father (saies she) sent me hither in a liberall manner.

a Eurip. *Androm.*  
v. 153.

α ἡλοοῖς σὺν ἰδ' ὅσις : ὧς ἐλθὺς ἀποσπασίῃ.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you must go to doores. And she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her Waiting-maid afterward bandy'd back to her again, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. For (saies she) he did not take as a Captive, or so, β οὐκ ὡς πικρῆς ἐστίν, he had something with you.

b Ib. v. 872.

### CAP: XIII.

#### *De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.*

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take in *Electra* own words:

c Eurip. *Elek.*  
v. 75.  
d I. Poll. l. 7. c.  
19.

— — — c τῶν δούλοισ δ' ἡμᾶς χρεῖσθ.

ἢ ἐξέλεγε μὲν ζεῖν, ἢ ἀποδόνει ἢ ἐργάτη &c.

or else working at any kind of Lanifce, either at δέσπινῃ the rozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wooll? or σπινδιῇ, when they went to spinne out the σπινν or *stamen*, and διδιδου (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at ὑφαντῇ, the Weaving and joyning the σπινν together, with the help of the Κίρη, (the *pecken* or the *sley* like a comb) and the ἄγρινος, or the *Asia*, smoothe stones (like our smoothe lace-sticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine worke

a Serv. ad  
Aen. 8.

worke, *vestis* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more ; for there was *οικιατικὴ* too , and a great deale of variety in some workes , as well as severall sorts of workes in the trade ; which was the cause why <sup>b</sup> *Lucan* b. V. 14. 18. in *Euripides* when *Crensa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was.

Πόσῳτι, πολλὰ παρθέρων ὑδάσματα.

Vnlesse you will confine this *πόικιλος* to the Virgins ( as you may seeme to have cause from the words but now produc'd ) and the Wives and Mothers ( or their servants for them ) to the plainer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus*, the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plaine dealing* . And seeing Weaving was a worke well befeeming the better sort ( as appeares in *Crensa* the daughter of no worse man then *Eriethem* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope* ) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse,

Ἀυτὴ δ' ἐμμοχθῶσα κακῇτι πέπλος.

That she was kept to Weaving. For ( it may be ) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her owne Woman, and Weave for her selfe , but must be still winning and never wearing , and starve in the Cooks shop . I must tell her thus much from <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married Woman ( as she was <sup>a Polit. l. 6. c. 143.</sup> but *πολυμοχθῶσα κακῇτι* ) that or any worke else would have been thought too much to little purpose . For saies he in such a case, *τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρηθεῖν καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὅσον ἀκολούθως διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην*, she must be forc'd to do things her selfe for want of Servants , and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynaconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all.

## CAP. XIV.

## De Uxorum &amp; Filiarum Oecuria.

**N**OW the Wives besides their *γυναῖκες*, (their Bed-chamber shall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, just as the men had their *ἀνδρώναι*) had their *παρθέναι* too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their *παρθέναι* to play in, for I feare me, *uides chambres font dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

b I. Pol. l. 1. c. 8

*Ἐκὼς τὰς γυναικας μὴ μόνας ἵδναι.*

c Eurip. Iphig.  
in Aul. v. 737.

That Maids at home shud not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediately following the former,

*Ὅχι μὲν οὐκ ἀρδένωσι φρουρὰν τοὺς καλῶς.*

And if their Daughters not yet ſhut faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their *κλειόμενα*, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they *ty'd them up*? as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their Poëts :

a Ariſtoph. in  
Theſmop.

— ἢ γυναικῶν ἰνῶν

*Σοφροῦδας ἐπιβλέψουσιν ἥδη καὶ μάχλιν*

*τηρυντὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μολοῦσιν*

*τῶν γυναικῶν οὐκ οὐκ τοῖς καλῶς κούρας.*

— beſides the ſeales

Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay  
To make us ſure ; nay more, their Maſſive curs  
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were *δοῦλοι* Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo

so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poët in *Lusistræ*: χαλαρὰ γυναικὶν ἔξοσι. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were *οἰαζόμεναι*, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their *γυναικίους κόσμους*, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were *γυναίκοσται* (as they call'd them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was <sup>a</sup> posted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to *look* abroad: or if they were suffer'd by them they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide rook up her Mistressse so short, when she went forth at doores in a passion.

<sup>a</sup> 1. Coll. l. 3. c. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Ἄλλ' εἴσιδ' εἶπες, ὑπὸς πανταζὺς δόμων  
Πάριδος ἦλ' ὅ; ὑπὸν ἀφρονέω λαβὼς  
Πρόθεν ὑπὸ λείων ἦλ' ὅ; ὄρωμένον, τῆκεν.

<sup>b</sup> Eurip. in *Androm.* v. 876.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your selfe  
Before the house, &c.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render *πανταζὺς*, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; *Καν ἐν θυρίδι παρὰ πύλωνα* (as the Women complaine in *Thestophroniazuse* \* where you may read more of their grievances) if they did put *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other \* Women us'd to doe: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to  
goe

<sup>\*</sup> *Aristoph.*



goe out of one room into another : for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogus* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

*Enrip. Phœnif.*  
v. 88.

Ἐπὶ στήθεσσι παρδριναῖς ἐκλιπὼν  
Μεσση.

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad : for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies ;

Οὐκ ἴση ἄμα τῇ γὰρ ἀμείστολοι δὴ ἔσονται

The Womans owne private chamber, (*Gynaconitis*, *Gynaconites*, or *Gynacon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Diadymus*) διπλῆ two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them : for (to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ αἰγῆσι καὶ γυνεῖν ὡς οὐκὸς καὶ δαλαμὸς ἐστὶν ἀλόν ὡς το δούτε δάκτυς ἴδ). The People of ancient times, built their ὡς their upper Chamber for the nonce. ~ns and αἴτ they called them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred up in such a chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the Roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a paire of staires, tis not so easy to determine, as it was to get up for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogus* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his Pupil by the hand, I am apt to thinke that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to the *Gynacon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case : heare how she cries for help :

Ὅρεγε νῦν, ὄρεγε μεοῖαν  
Νῆα χεῖρ δὴ κλίμακα  
Πόλλ' ἔχ' ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρίων.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of helpe ; for,

Κλίμαξ

Καίματα δ' ὁ Ἰάλλω ἐστὶν θήσαντι διὸ δέμας.

Now a Woman if she went about any worke that requir'd expedition, her fashion was εἰς γόφυρον ζώσασθαι, as <sup>a</sup> Theocritus Id. 14: saies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in Hesiod is called γυνὴ πυγιστὴ, me thinkes not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as <sup>\*</sup> *ad nates succineta*, from the *stola*, too <sup>\*</sup> ἀναστρεφόμεν. short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speake a great deale of their apparell, and the other many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I thinke it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of J. Pollux <sup>\*</sup> his mind <sup>L. 5. c. 2.</sup> in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speake of this kind of things, ἢ ῥαδίον ἢ δὲ ἰνὴν ἢ κυνοῖσταν, διὰ τὸ ἀνδρὶ περὶ χειρὸς ἐπὶ ἡνὶα κατιδέσθαι, εἴη ἢ κυνοῖσταν, εἴη πάλιν ἄλλοι ἄλλοι τὰς ὀνομασίαις, 'tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; because it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

# CAP. XV.

## De Adulterio.

**I**F a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mæchus manifestarius*, <sup>\*</sup> but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they cal'd it) <sup>\*</sup> Plutarch. in Bacchid. in the fact; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his Horn s.*) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Th. smythæ*, and cause him to be punished at the

Cc

pleasure

\* Poll. l. 3. c. 9.

pleasure of the \* Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either *ῥατιλαΐς*, or *παρὰ δόξην* synecdochically the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenall*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat*: Inſomuch that ever after he was diſgracefully call'd *ῥατιλάτης*. A puniſhment little enough for ſo great a vice, ſo great I ſay, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick uſe of harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpoſe to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for they were better) ſhe was not only forbid to go to the Temples, but if ſhe went any where elſe with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for *ἄτιμος*, a baſe companion. On the other ſide, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abuſ'd. the Adulterers puniſhment then was no more then a fine. And you will not ſo much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you conſider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is ſo much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that muſt break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Agamemnon* and *Clytemneſtra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not ſufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sjanus*: who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cunæa tentanti* (ſaies \* *Tacitus*) *promptiſſimum viſum at uxorem ejus Liviam convertere. hanc ut amore incenſus adulteri pell. xit, ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had raviſht a young Woman, (ſo ſhe were free borne) his <sup>b</sup> puniſhment was a fine, viz. a thouſand

Drachma

\* l. 4. Annal

<sup>b</sup> *Iſaus pro Pyrib.*

*Drachma*: but then besides that, he was to marry her too ( unless it could be made appeare she had taken something of him in consideration ) which puts me in mind of a story of the *Messenian* in *Pausanias*, who to compell *Aristodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kild her with his owne hand, and cut up her belly worse then *Virginus*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or press'd to death, for they called such a punishment *λαινὸν ἢ χτανόν*, as some say upon these words of *Homer*.

*λαινὸν ἔσται χτανὸν καὶ κῶν ἐνέχ' ἔσται θάνατος.*



C c 2

LIB.5.





# LIBER QUINTUS.

## CAP. I.

### *De Puerperarum Religione, &c.*



HE Athenians (saies Plutarch in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three sacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Baxigion*: but yet, saies he, ὁ παῖς πρὶν ἰσθῶται, ὅτιν ὁ γαμήλιος ἀσπὺς, καὶ ἀστὺς ἐπὶ παῖδων τεκνῶται, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very futable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of *χρῶν*, and *Ἀσπὺς*, and *Ἀστὺς*, concerning the Women. For as \* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, πολλὰ αὖτον τι οὐκ ἐστὶν τὰ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔχοντος, ὡς αὖτε καὶ τὰ γενέσθαι τὸ γυνή: as also with the use of the word *ἀγν* for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἡρώς, & in his *Antigone* ἡρώπου in the same sense. So *Aristanetus* <sup>a</sup> in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐν τῷ ἀσπὺς παῖδω. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon *Ἐπὶ Ἀσπὺς*. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

\* L. 7. 67. Ἀστὺς, concerning the Women. For as \* *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, πολλὰ αὖτον τι οὐκ ἐστὶν τὰ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔχοντος, ὡς αὖτε καὶ τὰ γενέσθαι τὸ γυνή: as also with the use of the word *ἀγν* for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἡρώς, & in his *Antigone* ἡρώπου in the same sense. So *Aristanetus* <sup>a</sup> in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐν τῷ ἀσπὺς παῖδω. And *Moschus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon *Ἐπὶ Ἀσπὺς*. The Latin word *Sator* answers very well to it, and so would

<sup>a</sup> L. 1. Ep. 13.

would *Insitor* to the word *βλάση* a bud, and *βλασάνειν*, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with Child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotles*\* advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day a Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, *ἢ δ' ἐλάττωσιν τὴν αἰὲν τὴν γένεσιν τῆς μητρὸς*, and his reason was, that they might not *ἐκδυαίνεσθαι* grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare their body for a worie as *Plutarch* saies, *Lucurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercise of wrestling, and coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their owne health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better *ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, wr. *stle* with the *throwes*. The Principall God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travel was *Diana*, called by them *Ἐλαειδία* *ἡ δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα*, from her readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a crying out :

--- *Aperire partus* a

a *Horat. Carm. Sac.*

*Lenis Elithia* ---

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handy-nesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to performe, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quedam putarent facile Conceptam alvum egerere*, saies *Festus*, and sometime under the name of *Facilina*,

--- *Facilina templa Diana*. b

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her <sup>b *Sil. Ital.*</sup> hand; (as if she did but hold the Candle to it) and so was *Elithia* by the *Greeks*, *ἡ τὴν φωσφῆρα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα*, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so hot: or else from *facilis*, *easy* and without difficulty to be *born*.

--- *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis*. c

being c *Ovid. Fast. l. 2.*  
likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greekes *ἡ δούλια*: as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed *ἡ δούλη Σάτυρος*, and *ἡ δούλη Ἐταίρου*, and *ἡ δούλη*, because she stood still ready as it were at the doore, and was alwaies at hand to doe the worke of a hand-woman — *in voto parturientis ades*. Or lastly from *facilis, ease, and without paine*, because she gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he saies,

*Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.*

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of *Γενίτις*, as the Latins did that of *Genitalis*.

*Sive tu Lucina probus vocari,*

*Sen Genitalis:*

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timans*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non esse mirandam, quod Diana occupata in adiuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravida domo abisset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was taken up in helping *Olympia*. And yet this jest (as dry as it is) *Plutarch* is so far frō liking, that he saies it was cold enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called *εὐστοία*, quasi *τὴν εὐστοίαν ἐνδύσσεως τῆς βρεφῶν ἐργασ*, saies the <sup>a</sup> *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

*Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dedisti:*

*Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.*

<sup>b</sup> *L. 2. de Nat. Dior.* Now this *Lucina* (saith <sup>b</sup> *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina*. And the <sup>c</sup> *L. 4. de Ling. Lat.* Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentiū dux*, was therefore worshipped by the womē in travel, *quod partus maturescant septē aut nunquam novem Luna cursibus*: or because the Moon by the filling and opening moisture of her influence, *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitateq; gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall number*, as you have in *Hemer* — — *μοῖραι Εἰς εἰς δὲ ζῆτι*, and in *Aristotle*

<sup>a</sup> *Aristo. b: in Lucif.*



fit the Gods τὸν ἱερὸν, &c. you may take it to be in reference only to severall names of one and the same *Diana*, and in especiall manner to those three, viz. *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins used to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

*Qua laborantes ut vo puellas*

*Ter vocat a andis, adimisque letho*

*Diva triformis.*

*Diana* should be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said, for that was the ground; or the principal name: all the other names seeme to be but the descendant, or so many *Epithetes* and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὸν δ' ἑυλοχὸν Οὐρανίαν

Τέζον μὲν ὧν

Ἄρτιον,

In another tragedy, ποθεῖς Ἄρτιον λοχῶν: and,

— ποθεῖς δὲ τὴν θεά. Ἄρτιον or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adjectives. Besides these to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of *Τεχτοῦναι*, *Cottus*, *Gygis*, and *Briareus* say some. So many winde say one <sup>a</sup> (that which is thought <sup>a</sup> *Etymol.* *Di-* to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables. ) But what <sup>cl. 4.</sup> have women to doe with the Winde? it can blow them no good, but a *Tympany*, and so puffed them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalceides*, *Proteclias*, and *Protecreon*; and *Philochorus* saies, they were the three first men that were begotten. And here I must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs; and pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Oristes*, when one told him that

that he saw *Aegyſthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphs.

<sup>a</sup> *Enim Electi*  
2. 616.

<sup>a</sup> *Τετάρτη αὐδῶν, ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν;*  
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

## CAP. II.

*De puerperio, seu foetu Masculo.*

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the λέγει δαίμων in <sup>b</sup> *Enripidis* where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

<sup>b1</sup> *Bacch. v. 96.*

<sup>b</sup> *Δοξὸς δ' αἰνῆα νῖν  
Δέξεται δαίμονα.*

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to conquer the paine, (for a *Palme* branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them *bear up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a *palm-branch* goe downward) according to that of *Theognis*:

— δὲ τὴν πόντιν Ἀντὸν  
τοῖον ὁ παῖς ἔχει ἐν χερσίν.

I do not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni* and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as *St Austin* saies) suppos'd those *Hobgoblins* *improbos sepe extitisse mulieribus, & carum appetisse, ac peregrisse concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an *Axe*, and another with a *Pestle*, and another with a *Broome*, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep <sup>a</sup> *Sylvanus* off him: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the building of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies <sup>\*</sup> *Apulius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, *κίονα δέον*, saies *Lycophron* of *Hætor*, and *regias ἀποχρ κίονα*, saies *Pindar* of the same

<sup>c</sup> *De Civ. Dei*  
l. 15. c. 22.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid. l. 6. c. 9.*

<sup>\*</sup> *L. 10. Met.*

same, *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

Σπῦλοι γὰρ οἶκον εἰσὶ πύλαι ἀνδρῶν.

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reason the men should beare the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the House can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. Names they made choyce of the best, such as *Ἀλαμνῆς* among the Greeks, and *Telamenes* among the Latins: but indeed the figure was commonly, of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*

—*Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Besides in ancient time, twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

### CAP. III.

*De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.*

THE Child as soone as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedemonian* a *Plut.* or *Ly-* fashion, and desir'd to prove, shall I say, or to improve the *curg.* strength of the Infant.) Of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

*Postquam peperit pueros, lavare jussit, nos occipimus.*

See *puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet!* And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Adunippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὴν τέκεσσαν καὶ τὸ γυνῶν, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

Πῶν ἐν λοχεῖαι γυναῖκα χυτλῶσαι δεόται.

from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Muniphrus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tel you more of this matter. For the Scholiast notes upon the word *χυτλῶσαι*, that after they had washt the body with Water (heated I suppose it was; and used only for the cleansing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a *χυταρι*, or a vessell so called, which they had for that purpose. The reason I believe to be the same, for which they did it at other times upon the elder sort, viz. *ὥστε οἱ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἀνταρξίαις κλειδῶσιν* *ὅσα τὸ εἶναι ἐπιπλάσσειν ὄνται*, (as the <sup>a</sup> Scholiast has it) to close up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was so constantly used just after the washing, that you shall have the word *χυτλῶσαι*, sometimes used to signify the same, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

<sup>a</sup> In *Alcibiades*,  
*Phil.*

— ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν μεγάλαν ἀνιδεύοντο κόλπον  
ἀντὶ δὲ δίχνητο ῥέον ὕδατος, ὥστε τὸ κοῖον  
λύματα χυτλῶσαιτο.

<sup>b</sup> L. 9. *Dionys.*

In allusion to this *χυτλῶσαι*: <sup>b</sup> *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* *ἐχρύτασεν λοχεῖαν*. For coming from so cleane a place as *Jupiter's* thigh, he had no great need of washing.

## CAP: IV.

## De Cunabulis, &amp;c.

THE Child being washed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpose by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectured by that which *Cressa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechthide* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's* *Aegis*, by the help whereof *Percus* had cut it off. Besides the likeness of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Eristhonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* seed spilt on the ground in forcing of the goddess, and having feet like a Dragon was exposed and committed by her, to the custody of two vigilant Dragons.

— ὁ δὲν Ἐρεχθίδης ἐκείν

Νόμῳ τῆς μητρός, ὅρατον ἐν χρυσαύτοις

τρίων τέκνα.

Euip. in Ion.

v. 25. & 14. 27

Saies the Poët: and from thence came the custome I speak of. And yet perhaps neither those Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing else but emblems, used by the authors to expresse the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for so they are like to have been assigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides* &c. & that because of their quickness of sight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti sed et spem, quod est videri: clarissimam enim habebant oculorum aciem quâ ex causâ incubant: eos et sauris custodie causâ sinxerunt*: Being wrap'd in the cloth in stead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himselfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the *Celtæ* used the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*: or else upon a *Vannus* or *Ventila-*

Strabo, 7.

labrū quod alimentorum copia & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, faies Rhodiginus, as an omen of peace and plenty.

## CAP. V.

De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

**W**Hen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands, and in congratulation the kindred that intended to be at the naming feast, sent their γυναικας δότες (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at a *Christening*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenius* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and coleworts with oyle, and tosted pieces of *Chresonesus*-cheese, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called 'Αμειβήμα, and so is the *Genius*, or γυναικας δότες, δότες 'Αμειβήμα, from the running about the hearth (which it seemes was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as we may call it, *Dancing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very criticall to most things, τὰ πλεῖστα ἢ ἀναεῖται περὶ τὸ ἑβδόμηον, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, ὡς περὶ δότες μᾶλλον τῇ σαιθείᾳ, as presuming

<sup>a</sup> I. 7. de Hist.  
Eth.

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth night rather) because the feast which they kept was called *Αργένη*, and those which then sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said to *ἀργάτεον δύνειν*, or *ἀργάτεον ἐστίασαι*: & at the same feast (saies *Snidas*) where the Kindred went to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia* Againe, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word *ἀργένη* (in *Avibus Aristophanis*) I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himsele in the same Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Pispheteros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome.

Ὅρκ' ἄρτι δὴ τὸν ἀργάτεον ταῦτ' ἐστὶν

Καὶ τὸν οὐκ ὄνομα παῖδ' ἴσ' οὐδ' ὃν δὲ δέμω.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot say that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Protesus*, when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*;\* thus *Lencippe* when she was bought, was new nam'd *Lacena*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enslav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Συρῶ; or the colour and complexion, as ὁ Ξανθίας or ὁ πέρριος: or some good quality in him, as ὁ μεσός, and ὁ σφόδρως, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεμεσίου. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Estate fell to him,

*Enstath.* in 11.

*Enstath.* v. 13.

\* *Phil. Tat.*

*l. 5.*

*Enstath.* l. 9.

*Phoc. Biblioth.*

*Cod. 279.*

*See Rev. 2. 17.*



to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appears in those names of *Palamon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

## CAP. VI.

*De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.*

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Ἀνὰ Διῶν, *Cinxia* you may call her in *Latine* and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Ἀνὰ Διῶν. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the *Jewes* in so much that reckoning her among the *ῥυτταῖα*, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint; when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἐν τῇ κήδῃ καὶ λείψανον ἔμυσματ' ὅτι πύλον: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*: when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiosnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I* defy (saies she) the hypocrisy of that Goddess whatever she be that shall take delight in the murdering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity forsooth shall forbid such and such to come neer her Altars.

— ἢ ὅταν ᾖ ὡς τις ἀφ' ἡμετέρας

ἡμέρας, ἢ περὶ θύην ποτε

ἢ ὡς ἀνὰ δ' ἑλθόντες, ὡς ποτὶ τῷ θεῷ ἡμετέρας.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have founded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of Delos should by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Island neer adjoining. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*:

Λῆγ' ἢ λίγες ἐν ὅσῳ ἀγνῶσκει ἀνθρώποι.

Whether it were at the time of the τεταρτάτῃς, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end ( for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before ) or whether it were πλεονεὶς τῶν ἑπτὰ νυκτῶν, when the child was a *tenne* night old, ( as we say a seven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I doe not think tis the tenth *Month* ) I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

Δεκάτη τῶν ἑπτὰ νυκτῶν, ὡς νομίζουσιν.

Whensoever the time was: the Woman, after she had wash'd away her ῥύματα in the river ( as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from \* thence ) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband \* *Pausan.* in *Ach.* to the Nymphes, for helping him to such a Wife: or both ( if you will ) to returne their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παῖδες ἀεὶ δεῖν τελεσθῆναι δεῖν. It may be in case of weaknesse, or if she were ignorant of rites ( as she might be at the first ) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

Ἄλλως τὸ δ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τέλει.

*Eurip. Electr.*

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was colewort. *v. 11. 28.*

## CAP. VII.

## De Nutricibus.

THE Nurses during the time of sucking, were called *τῖθαι* (from *τῖθαι* the same that *μαῖς* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (*ἐπαλαετίζεσθαι*) *τροῦοι* dry Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *usu liberioris* \* *aure*, and to make the Nurses the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the streets: and in case they should be unquiet, the Scholiast upon those words of *Aristophanes*,

\* *κωδиг. ex Plat.*

*δὲς μοι χυτρίδιον παρρηίῃ βεβυζμένον.*

Saies they were wont to have their sponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (& such a one *Alcibiades* had himselfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were so proud, that they counted it a disparagement to them, to be nurses themselves. And therefore the Woman in *Demosthenes*, when it was objected to her, that she had sometimes used this base employment, was faine to excuse it by the necessity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And so likewise you shall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complayning of her unhappinesse, that she must be forced to such an office as this was. When they would lull (as we call it) or lall a child asleep, they used *lallare* to cry *πάλα*, or *βαυκαλᾶν*, to sing songs to it. Their songs they called *καταβαυκαλίσεις*, and sometimes *νόνηα*: (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnibius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut possint leves audiende sunt nania*,) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

*Εὐδὲν' ἐμὰ βρέφεια γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον  
Εὐδὲν' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δὴ ἀδελφεὰ, εἴσοα τέκνα*

*Ὅλβια*

"Οἱ ἄλλοι ἐμὲ ζοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ ἔμμενοι.

Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ἀποκαλεῖσθαι to the child, calling it also sometimes παιδῶν or παιδικεύς, or ἀπορροεύς, and the like,

CAP. VIII.

*De expositione Infantum.*

**B**UT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dy of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parent. If it die in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of \* *Juvenal* \* *Sat. 6.* *minor igne rogi.* Which practise is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child; Saies he, καὶ ἐν πικρῇ δὲ τὸ πολυπληθεὲς ταφῆς καὶ ἐν ἰσχυρῇ ταφῇ. The custom of *exposing* children, which the Grecians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very usuall; it was exercised upon such children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We \* read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was ἁγίος or a Godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them λήξαι appointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐταγὴς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς sound, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by thier Uncle *Amilins*; sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

*Exod. 7. v. 2:*

E c

*votaque*

—υοταque sape

*Ad spurcos decepta lacus,* Sometimes a deep pit, such as the *Lacedemonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places; such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: & in alta nemora pabulum mist feris *Avidas*— and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotē suum in mare projici jussit*. If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it in *σαστράνεις fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria*.

—verum vidi *Cantharum*

*Suffarcinatum*. As if it were *Suffasciatum*. Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatam*, for as much as *succiniam*. It is sometimes called *ἑσχαρον*, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

—αὐτὸν γινώσκον

\* Ἐξέδυσαν ἐν ἑσχαρῶν —

And sometimes *χύτρα*, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes *χυτρίζω exponere*. What kind of thing that *ἀντήμιξ* was, wherein *Cressa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or wherof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was *ἀγγυ* a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinnē, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

—ἀναπύξαι σκύλῳ

\* Ἡλικτὸν ἀντίπηγες.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so then *Moses* *הכח* can be: for first he saies there was *σκούτῳ εἰλικτὸν* skinnē or leather, roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: *ἀντήμιξ* ab *ἀντι* and *μήγυθος*, as our trunks are. 3. It was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

*κακτίζουσι ὡς θανέμενον*

Κοίτας ἐν ἀντίστοις οὐροῦ καὶ κεφαλῆς.

And for ἀγρῶ, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessel*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of oziens, or bulrushes, dawb'd & clos'd with slime and pitch such as that we read of in \* *Exodus*. But though they thus set him out to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings and jewells, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

C. 2. v. 3.

— αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἐκείνους ἐκείνους

Τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἄλκον, ὅς ἐστιν ἀντιπρόσωπον.

a Eurip. 102:  
v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would \* *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his *providencia*, or *providencia*, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the coit too in the burying, according to that in \* *Terence*.

Tolleret.

\* *Heautontimorumenos*.  
Act. 3. Sc. 1.

— cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum

Detraho, & cum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These *παλγυρία*, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called *περὶ τὸν λαιμόν*, as they were likewise called *γυροῦσθαι*; for they were many times, bottles and bells; and such like toys (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, viz. *ὅπως μὴ ἀγνοῖται* (saies \* one) not to adorne him, but to mark him so as to know him againe, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bells were fastned to find him by the noise, as we doe our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this in-

Dio Chrysostomus.

tent to be killed ( as some would have *exponere* and *negare* to be little different ) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be killed, if it were not exposed ( as it was with *Mosis* ) and sometimes ( if it were a Baltard ) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men then such as were exposed, as might be made appeare by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* ( whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity ) made a Law to forbid it: and so did the Romans too afterward: among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, ὅστις νόμος ὁμοῖον ἀποκαλύπτει τῆς φύσεως. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i. e, his naturall affection. Our putting out children to Nurse, many times proves little better then exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy, as *Orphæus* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægyffus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it ἀποκρύψωμαι; & so you might have called him ἀποκρύψας, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customes they used in education only, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the severall sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.



## CAP. IX.

## De Liberorum diversitate.

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were foure sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὀγνήσθ, or ἰθαγενής, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀσκήσας γαμετῆς, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὀνόσθ, qui Latine reddi non potest, saies \* *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine; such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τὰ νόθα μὴ εἶναι ἀγχοῦσθαι saies *Aristophanes*: \* and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *Iem* in the Poëtæ to complaine as he did? I. 3. 6. 6. In Avib. Enrip. v, 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἱππεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὦν νόθαγενής  
Μηδὲν ἢ ὅδ' ἔν' ὧν καλῆσθαι.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Enstathius* upon *Homer* concerning *Tenebris* 11. 8. who was a *nothus* himselfe) being well borne he must needs be lawfully borne, and so he was held in as great esteeme as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regia fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent. ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion only of a thousand *drachma* at the most: \* this portion they called τὰ νόθα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנות which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of his concubines: it was the value of πέντηκὼν of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (Jupiters bastard by *Alcmena* the Wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus; Harpoc. a Gen. 25. c. 6.

Τὸ δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα  
τὰ νόμιμα;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. But the other reply'd againe, and confuted his answer, by urging Solons Law, which ordered indeed that the *νοτὴ* should *αὐτὴν αἰσῶν ἔχειν*, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be only for default of legitimate children and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by Demosthenes in his speech *ἀπὸς Μανερταπῶν*. Thirdly, ὁ Σαῶν, an obscure sonne, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*. As if he were nothing but *terra filius*, rising out of the ground like the wind; or as if he were begotten of the wind, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call *συνέκων*, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* *συνέκων παῖδα*, because they fained him to be borne of *Juno*, but begot of the Winde, or they knew not whom. 4ly. ὁ περιδερῖαι, ὅν τις ἐκ τῆ δουλοῦς ἐκ παρδίου νόμιμον συνοικίας ἐπὶ γάμῳ, saies *Pollux*; A Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, who the Husband took for a Maid. To these may be added, first ὁ εἰσποιητός or ὁ δευτός, a sonne not begotten, but made, or adopted: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, *Ελευθερός* liber, whose father was *ἀπαλδ'δερός* libertus, made free. and third'y *ἑταλδ'δερός* ingenuus, the sonne of *αὐτοδερῶς*. Any sonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only beloved, they usually called \* *παλ'ἡγιος*.

\* 1. Tol.

CAP: X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Enripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithere of *Κρεττοτάτη*, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*: as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuse*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κρεττοτάτῃ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures; or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἐξοχλήν, the best Nurte of the best, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, viz. that *Erichthonius* the poor expos'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this τῇ Κρεττοτάτῃ, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ προσδύειν, doe it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught πῶτον κλιμεῖν, δύνειν ἢ χύματα, first to swimme and dive, and then to read; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnical exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine \* him, as otherwise he was. \* *Plat. in Solon.* Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκοῦαὶ *Pages*: all such *Caramites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called \* πῶλοι, though I \* *Hesych.* know

know, πᾶλ' and συμπαῖς too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

## CA P. XI.

*De Puerorum Castigatione &c.*

**I**F a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborne in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὡπεὶ ἀρτῆστας ἰατρομελίας, saies the Scholiast upon *Enripides*, as the most powerfull motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from them, for they tyed him fast πρὸς ἑὺλαον, to a block, to make him kisse the post; or πρὸς πασσάλλω, to a stake or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαταγή-λαδιδίου. ὡς ἐστὶν ἀλλοθι ἡ γυνὴ, saies he in <sup>a</sup> *Aristophanes*, which is rendred by *Frischlin*, *Distentus affigere humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, & leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called <sup>b</sup> πημπαρίζεσθαι, or πημπαρίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculus* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies, Ἡ βίβρα σὺ θρανέυσσται, from the θράν' or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. That torture of one of the seaven brethren in the <sup>c</sup> *Macchabes*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympanisum*, to have been a torture or a rack exercis'd upon any by Tyrants, rather then a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his <sup>d</sup> *Rhetoricks*, saies that *An-*

<sup>a</sup> In *Equit.*

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ad Hebr.  
c. 1. v. 35.

<sup>c</sup> L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

<sup>d</sup> L. 2. c. 8. f. 38.

*riphon*

the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth \* Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all feare, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; ἀσπρὸς δὲ σπομπαρισμοῖς. And so *Plutarch* in his book de Adulatione, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomie*, that even πωπαρίζοντες, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouthes to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of σπομπαρισμός, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called πύματα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffered, for the Scholiasts on these words of *Aristophanis* in *Pluto* ὁ πύματα καὶ κώδονες — saies both ἐσθίει, or which and θίει, with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* σπομπαριεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word ταῖα in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusa*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a σάβαλον in his mouth.

— ἐμβαλῶ σοι

ταῖα ὡς ἂν σιωπῇ.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had γὰρ χαλάει; the Haile, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poët himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatening to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistius*, under the name of προσηταλύνει, in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plato's* *Orbilius*; that used to pay the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, πωπάρειαν δούρειν προσηταλύνειν, &c. And so *Promethæus*, whom

the Gods tyed to *Caucasus-hill* for stealing fire, is said by *Menandar*, to have been *περσπεσσηλδμέν* Θ, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

ἔτι δ' ἀνέως προσπασσηλδμένον

Γέρουσι ἢ Περσυνδία πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, ( before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it, unlesse it were found in the act of adultery ) any one might sell his child when he <sup>a</sup> pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might *ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱόν*, <sup>b</sup> *abdicare filium suum*, turne him out of doores. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, <sup>c</sup> *πρὸς Βοιωτὸν* saies \* *Demosthenes*: and then the *κέρυξ*, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ὁ δέῃα, such a one did deny *πρὸς δέῃα*, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used, was said *ἐκπίπην τῷ γένει*, to be rejected out of the family, and was called *ἀποκήρυκτος*. If he were received into favour againe, he was said *ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ γένος*, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

<sup>a</sup> *Plut. in Sol.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lucian.*

<sup>c</sup> *πρὸς Βοιωτὸν*

## C A P. XII.

### *De ascriptione in Φρατρίαι.*

THE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *φρατρίαι*, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in \* Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast *Ἰατρῆαι*. Which was so called, either according

\* *Demost.*

*πρὸς Μυρτιάδα.*



ding to the Etymologicall dictionary, because the sons which before might be thought *ἄπατορες* *id.* to have *no Father*, did now make it appeare, who the Father was, Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, *οἱ πατέρες* & *L. I. ΕΛΛΗΝΣ* *ἡ συμπαγὴς ζυνέσις* *οἷσι* *αὐτοῖς*, the fathers met altogether: & so it must be call'd *Ἀπατία*, in that manner as a wife is call'd, *ἄλοχος*, for *ἄλόχευε* & or *ἀλοίη*, for *Ὀμόιωται*: where *A* is ἐπιτατικό, & not a privative; as likewise in *ἀτιμία*, and many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of *ἀνομή*, *ἐπὶ ἧ κροτῇ*, as who would say a *Shaving-fest*: because at that time they used to cut their haire. The haire which they cut, they called *κροτό*, or *κροτόν*, or *ἑρπιδιον* *πλόκαμων*, in opposition to *πενθιδιον*, that which they cut at a funerall. This lock (as I think it was) they had nourished of purpose till that time, and consecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himselfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was *ῥα* \* *Numb. c. 6.*  
*cred.* (like the lock of the \* *Nazarites*)  
*ῥα* *ἱερεὺς ὁ πλόκαμος* *πρὸς* *τοῦ* *δ'* *αὐτὸν* *τίθει*.

v 5.

a *Emip. in**Bacch. 494.*

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut, because it was the first time that ever they cut it, and because it was done by way of an offering, they called *κρούς* *ἡ* *παρχή*, the first fruits of the haire, (for the word both English, Greeke, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard <sup>b</sup> *Sueton. c. 12.*  
*Nero* put it into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with <sup>c</sup> *ejus vitæ.*  
precious jewels, and laid it up in the Capitol.

If the children were of a noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, some to one God, and some to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conscience) at Rome, beside *Apollo*, whom still one or other was carefull to supply (notwithstanding his own *Inconsum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

*Hos tibi, Phœbe, vover totos à vertice crines.*

*Martial*



*Æsculapius* was remembered too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Eavinnus*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with jewels, and a looking glasse besides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

—dulcisque capillos,

*Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.*

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up theirs upon a Tree: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a love-lock for entrance, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fiftene yeares old, and the enrolling of them into the Ἀντίεργον γαμματαῖον at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be regiltred, they were τρεῖς ἢ τετρεῖς, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemion* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was regiltred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeares old: and there is my example. 3ly. It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring they offered up the first-fruits of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* It is all one to me,

## CAP. XIII.

*De descriptione in Ephæborum censum, & in album Lexiarchicū.*

**W**Hen they came to be eighteen yeares old, ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι  
 ἔρῳσας, they were listd among the number of those  
 that were ἑταῖροι *puberes*. And to this purpose they had cer-  
 taine Officers appointed to search them to see whether they  
 were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as  
 they called it) εἰσπολεῖν τὰ εἰς πόλιν, to keep Guard, or doe  
 service in the City. (of which hereafter.) This search or  
 examination was called δοκιμασία. If they were found to  
 be *puberes*, sound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldi-  
 ers, they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they  
 took a solemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods  
 and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon  
 Κερώτις too, and that may be the occasion of the difference  
 lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed  
 without cutting of haire too. But commonly the fashion  
 was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to con-  
 secrate their haire, not to this or that God, but to the ri-  
 vers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in.  
 ἐν ἡγρεῖσις ποταμῶσι. Thus much may be gathered from <sup>b</sup> *Pe-*  
 lus his vow to consecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if  
 Achilles returned in safety: and <sup>c</sup> *Memnon's* performance of  
 the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as <sup>\*</sup> *Paul* shaved his haire at  
*Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The Nazarites, when they  
 cut their haire of <sup>\*</sup> *consecration*, were to make use of the con-  
 trary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the  
 Greeks the custome of paying tribute for their haire, when  
 they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and  
 growth) was very usual! both in men and women, especially in  
 times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *He-*  
*kka* in *Enripides*, where she hemoans the condition of the

<sup>Schol. in</sup>  
 Hom. Il. 4.  
<sup>b</sup> *Pausan. in*  
 Att.  
<sup>c</sup> *Philost.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Acts. 18. 18.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Num. 6. 3.*

poore *Trojans*, and the sad fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamandar*.

a *Empip. Helen.*  
v. 372.

Ἄπο δὲ παρθενοῖς κόμας

ἔθεντο σύγχοροι νεκρῶν

Σκαμάνδριον αὐτὸ ἐπὶ ῥήμον διδύμα.

Unlesse you had rather think it was done (according to the custome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I should have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephēbi*) they first took a vessell of Wine (μέδος οἶνον, saies *Hesychius*) and having consecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*; they began a health in it to the company there present. This ceremony, they called τὰ δινίσματα from the Wine. And here it may not be amisse, to mention the distinction, which you shall find in the Poets of two severall waies of cutting of their haire, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a garden: the other called σχάρον, when they shaved it so close to the skinnē, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ἐπιδέτις ἡβώτης, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty yeares old, οἱ ἀνδράς ἔπεγραψαν they wrote men, or they became *sui juris*, and their names were regitred by the *Demarchus* in his Ἀντιδράχμαν λευκώμα, in *Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all those that belonged to his *Demos*. It had this name περὶ τὸ λυξέω, (or τὸ κλήρω) ἄχεν, because as soone as any ones name was written therein, he might be master of an estate himselfe if he had it. Besides this book, there was πινυκίον πύξιον a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to set down of what *Demos* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, & that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepsion*.

## CAP. XIV.

*Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.*

When the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unless he were a *nethus*, or had not been bred up to a calling) he might be served with a Writt ἡ καλῶς τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill; and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, put to any friend else, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ δρεπεία, and δρεπεία, or *ζογία*, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themselves so strongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing so much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* δ.

— ἡ δὲ τιχῶσι

δρεπείαις ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν δαδὶς δὲ οἱ αἰῶν

Ἑσλιθ'— rendred by *Val.* <sup>a</sup> *Flaccus* thus.

a L. 6.

— nec reddita charo

*Nutrimenta patri brevibus præceptis in annis.*

Insomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children *Non est beneficiū, quod poscitis, sed fascinus quod negatis.* <sup>b</sup> *Quintil.*

And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have <sup>decl. 6.</sup>

found them for the most part, very carefull to keep out of

debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents,

as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in use a-

mong them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when <sup>a</sup> *In Aristoph.*

he came home againe, the Daughters themselves, presently *Vesp.*

fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἕως

ἡ τὰ μέλην τῶν πατέρων καὶ τῶν γονέων saith the Scholiast, inso-

much that *Euphron* (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the

Epithete

Epithete *Λιταρῆς* for the feet, in allusion to this anointing, (it may be) they used to kisse them too (as *shee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

\* *Eurip. Med.*  
v. 133.

— καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ  
Ἄπολλειζον, καὶ πάλιν πόσιν ἀλγίστην καὶ σεσηκωτάτην εἰλήσῃ.

For the Children thus to maintaine their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to feed the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word *γρηγορεῖν*, and so *Medea* uses the word to her children at parting.

— εἶχον ἐλπίδας  
Πολλὰς δὲ ὑμῖν γρηγορεῖν τ' ἐμὴν.

Next to the charges of maintaining the parent when he is old, are those of burying him, when he is dead; and those to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in his roome, which being then very old, he must shortly leave in his owne; Well (saies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:*

a *Idem in Al-*  
*cest.* v. 664.

\* Οἱ γρηγορεῖσσι καὶ θανόντασι

Προσκελεύσιν, ποσὶ θύσσονται νεκρῶν.

That will you feed, and shrowd your head,  
And Lay you forth when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man so neer to his end: we will shew him what course he is to take for the disposing of his estate, only because if he should have no children at all, or none such as they should be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will speak a word of that first.

## CAP. XV.

*De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate:*

\* *Isa. de Avi-*  
*starch.*

**I**F a man had either no child at all, or none that was *γνήσος*, & free borne, he had power \* to adopt him a *νόθος* or

or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their Wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must be first made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd into the Tribe ( or fraternity ) of him that adopted him. But this last was to be done upon the feast of *Θαργηλιον* in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his old Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, till he had begotten a child in the new. As for the mans estate is pass'd to another either *παρὰ* by descent, or *κατὰ διαθήκην* by virtue of a will, Now by Solons laws ( for before, their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kindred ) a man might make any body his heire, of any estate that he had which was not in controversy: but with these six qualifications. First he himselfe must be no Foole nor Mad-man. 2 No prisoner, so as to make his will against his will: for then it could be no will. 3 No stranger, for then his estate went to the common treasure. 4 No adopted man, for such a ones estate (if he wanted a child, was to passe to the \* next of the Adopters kindred. ) 5 Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my \* author) *καλὸν ἢ χεῖρον δοῦναι, ὡς ἴσως ἂν ᾖ, ὡς ἴσως ἂν ᾖ, ὡς ἴσως ἂν ᾖ*, is little better then a mad-man. 6 Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance should goe to him. And if there were more Males then one, they were to be *κοσμοῖται*, copartners, or *κοινοκτῆναι*. But in case he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not *γνήσιοι*, free borne and legitimate: the Daughter was to be *ἐκκλησίαις*, or *ἐκκλησίαις*, sole heire. And therefore he in *Aristophanes* *Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not possibly be *ἐκκλησίαις* to *Πάρις*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

— πῶς ἂν ποτε

ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δακτύλων

G g

Οὐδὲν

Οὕτως θυγατὴρ ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γυναικῶν.

*Isæus de Avi-  
fianth.*

*Demost. contr.  
Stephan.*

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond αἰδιμονος κριδων, six bushells, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κληρῶν ἢ κληρῶν, or ἐπιδικάζουσαι τῷ κληρῶν. And if any one would διακατοβάζων, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; only first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

## CAP. XVI.

### *De necessitate sepulture.*

**I** Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the second kind of justice viz. to the dead, I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteemes of a buriall; that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funerall acknowledged and called to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. In somuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were: he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

--- *Capiti inhumato*

*Particulam dare*---

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian. Declam. 5.* observed  
this

*Ælian: Var.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 14.  
Horace l. 1.  
Od. 28.*



this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humanis congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantuloquinque veneretur aggeri.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: *ὁ δὲ νόμος ὅτι ὅν τις ἀπαύει καὶ μὴ ἐπαυνοῖται, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι τὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον.* Whosoever saw a dead body, & did not turne up the dust upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but *εὐαγγέλιον*, a scellus, an accursed devoted fellow, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted it *ἀνόμιμον*, *ἀνομία*, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, and *πολλοὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι*, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to the were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then *ἐκπύετω ὁ θεὸς*, that he might not be covered with the earth. Me thinks I see *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stabbe him; and *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed, to be left behind in the lutch, to be meat for the dogges and the birds. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in teare of a death upon the sea: or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

Festus c. 13.

In Helen.

Pomer.  
Sophoc.

*Demite naufragium & mors mihi munus erit.*

saies *Ovid*. In somuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be cast away (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. *ἔχειν δὲ τιμὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄντα ναυαγίου νεκρὸν; ὃ δὲ προσέχων καὶ καρδία ναυόμους ἀβασταίαις ἀδένειται, μὴ γὰρ μικρὸν αἰὲρ ἐπιπλοῦται τῷ χερσαίῳ πολλὰ πλοῦσι;* Saies *Synesius* in one

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all: but if it were not buried as soone as possibly it could, it was counted *μητιμα* π τῷ νεκρῷ, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μελιγμά* π τῷ νεκρῷ, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of Homer. *Iliad*. 7.

— ἔπεικα θάνασι πρὸς μελιώτιον ὄνα.

*Al. x. ab Alex.*  
*b. 3. c. 7.*

*Patroclus* is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet finde.

## CAP. XVII.

*De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.*

**B**UT next to the happinesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country. Infomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the body; they were wont with solemne and irequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, *ἀναγλῆσαι τὸν νεκρὸν*. — *manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) to give a hallow for the Soule: which they thought was still quick enough to come to th. m. *Pindar* saies, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis*, desir'd *Pelias* to see this office perform'd for him

*a In Pyth. Od. 4.*

— καλεται τὸν ἑαυτοῦ

ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν —

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (saies Homer) — *τοῖς ἑσθλὸν αὐτοῦ*: to give a heap for

*L. 13. Eclog. 6.*

every one three times, As *Th. ocrinus* saies of *Hylas*, *τοῖς πέντε αὐτοῦ*. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

— *Hylas nauta quo fonte relictum*

*Clamassent: ut litus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret:*

*Doubt.*

Doubtlesse they would have been glad, to believe their bodies also might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as some of the *Jewes* doe think theirs shall into the land of *Canaan*. And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themselves, it could be to little purpose. For as I remember, one in *Aristophanes Ranis* saies concerning the dead.

(Τὶ δὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄχρον πρὶς ἐξινεύουσα.

They are gone so farre (ὄχιενται ὄχισται to go is used also for to dye, we say a man is *dead*, & gone) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man, unlesse you can finger the carcassee? yes, he shall be kept safe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called *Κυνοτάμιον*: and to bury a man thus in effigie (as I may say) *κυνόταμιον*, as in \* *Euripides*.

\* *Helen. 7.*  
1562.

Ὁν τυνδαρεῖς πᾶσι ἢ δ' ὅντα κυνόταμιον.

The Scholiast upon the same Poët in *Hecuba*, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, Ἐσώσαντο δ' ἑνὸς τῶ ἐκαστὸν τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τῇ γῇ ταφέντι, γῶνται τὸ κυνόταμιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν τὸ μνήμης, though the body were buried in another Country, to kep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. *Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* *Κηφείον*, from *κηφείν* a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father.

—<sup>b</sup> *Tumulum Rhæco in littore inanem*

*Constitui*—

<sup>c</sup> *Progre* for *Philomela*.

—<sup>c</sup> *inane Sepulchrum*

<sup>b</sup> *Verg. Aen. 6.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Ovid. l. 6.*  
fab. 8.

*Constituit*—

The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophiâ suâ descivissent*, (accounting them as bad as departed out of the life, that had departed from their principles) The *Athenians* for all those that died upon the Sea.

Ὁ δὲ δαμόντα σ' ἀλδρον κενὸν τάμεν

Ὁ δὲ δα—

saies the Poët concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth your labour to read the story, what a fudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a

beere, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Hel.* concerning the custome.

*Theoc.* τίς δ' ἐστὶ τῶν τούτων ἡ δόσις σου;  
*Hel.* βλάνη δὲ τῆς νόμου ὅς ἐστι πάντων θάνατον.

*Theoc.* τί θύει, πορὶ τοῖς μάλιστα τὰ τοῖς ἀδελφείοις;

*Hel.* Κενόει θάπτει ἐν πύλοις ὑδάσιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall, he in \* *Aristophanes* comforted himselfe and his friend ὁ Κεγμανὸς δὲ ξένοι τὸ; what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every were as \* *Ovid* saies.

*Et sape in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

### C A P. XVIII.

*De mortui mutilatione, & iis qua in homicidiis fieri solabant.*

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end, viz. Violent, and Naturall. And first of the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himselfe (ὡτόχει) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the rest of the body. So saies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying or (falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but *Isocratus* moovs as *Euripides* saies of *Polyxena*, If another killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it justly and in a good cause, though he washed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he used to

take

\* In Avibus.

a L. 11. fab. 10.

take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the blood on it, *αἷματι τὴν ἡλίου πρὸς δεικνύει*, (saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witnesse, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly: instead of showing the blood, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party slaine: *ὡς περ ἔπειθ' αὖτις πάλιν τὸ μῦθος ἐν τῷ σώματι* (saies the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were *ἐμδοκίμῳ* and *συγγενὸς τὸν* (as he saies) i. e. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so cleane, but some would flick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Iuries to revenge it, they provided amulets and spells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it selfe? for having that in their power as a holtage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghost of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or else would spare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as soon as they had slaine him, they cut off all the extreme or outmost parts of the outmost members: and sewing them, to tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The extremities thus used they call'd *ἀκρωτεία*, and so to use the body *ἀκρωτερίζειν*, so as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the topps of the eares when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called *λωβᾶσθαι*, from *λωβᾶν*, the lap of the eare. Though that word, and *λυμαίνειν*, be also used for as bad usage as *ἀκρωτερίζειν*: unlesse you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those *ἀκρωτεία*, are sometimes called *ἀπαργματα* or *ἐξαργματα*, as in \* *Apollonius*, where he speakes of *Abfyrus* his L. 4. being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

*Ἦρως δ' Αἰονίδης ἐξαργμάτα τέμνε θανόντῳ.*

*\* Ἡ Ζέμις αὐτὴν τῇσι θολοκλασίαις ἰλάσασθαι.*

And sometimes *μαχαλίσματα* from *μαχαλίζειν*, the same that *ἀκρωτερίζειν*: because oftimes they hung those pieces of the body

τ μαχαλας to their armeholes of which *Sophocles* speaks thus

Τὸ ἢς θανόντιμος ὦτε θυγατρὶς

\*Ευαχαλῖν.

But if he had kil'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the blood, spit three times in his mouth. This fashion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noses, and the eares and the hands, and the feet, was in use likewise among the Romans: not only upon men slain, (as *Quintilian* saies, *truncas partibus suis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil* *Æn.* 6.

*Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto*

*Diophbum vidi lacerum crud. liter ora,*

*Ora, manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis*

*Auribus, & truncus inhom. sto vulnere nares.*

C. 1. 3. 7.

That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acrotetia*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly he must fly his owne Country, and get into another (as the *Israelites* were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (said the Scholiast) *ἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὡς πλεονεξία*, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an *ἑταῖρος*, or Petitioner) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) *καθαρσίαν ἑλῶν*, to expiate the fact, and purge himselfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole yeare at the least. \* *Enstathius* saies anciently they suffered them sometimes to redeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: insomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid *χορεύσας θύειν*, or *ἰεῖν ὑπερὶ αὐτοῦ*, to participate in their Sacrifices himselfe. But every body else (of his owne Countrey was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they

*Joshua c. 20.*

\* *On Homer*

*Il. O.*

\* *Schol. in Eu-*

*ri. Hippol*

*a lib. 13.*

they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him : as thinking him  
 ἄνθρωπος ἴσχυ, ἱεράγῃ, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have  
 the name of a Man, as *Enripides* ſaies ἡ δὲ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὸν καλῶ.  
 The Scholiſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies, that \* Il. X.  
 among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave,  
 where the party was buried whom he had ſlain ; as *Euridamus*  
 did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*.

CAP. XIX.

*De claudendis oculis, pulſandis aueis vaſis,*  
 & amiciendo corpore.

I was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among  
 the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or  
 his Sun was a ſetting as they uſed to ſay — ἄλιον ἄμμι δειδύ- *Theoc.*  
 μαι to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the  
 kindred: and they call'd it Σύκλῃσιν τῷ ὀμματι. The perform-  
 ing of this ceremony by the Kindred, was ſo much valued,  
 that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in *Il. O.*  
 ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do  
 it: as *Ulyſſes* ſaies.

— ἢ μὲν σοὶ γὰρ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ

Ὅτε καὶ θάψουσιν θάλῃντι —

If a man died ſuddainly; ἀνέκην (ſaies the \* Scholiſt upon *Ho- \* Il.*  
*mer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a Woman to *Diana*. I know  
 not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old  
 Scholiſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they  
 had a cuſtome likewise to make a great ringing with veſſels  
 of Braſſe, (Bells, ſome render it) to fright away the Hob-  
 goblins, and Furies from the Soul. For ſuch a kind of  
 ſound (he ſaies) is καὶ θάψας καὶ ἀπὸ λασκίδος καὶ μασημάτων of a  
 ſpecial virtue for ſuch effects. But elſe I ſhould rather ima-  
 gine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman  
 Conclamation was, viz. to try whether the party were but  
 H h dead



dead asleep (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclipse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hyppolitus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v.  
148.

Κεῖνον δὲ μεμειψέσθων ὡς πάρος πεπλοῖς.

And indeed the whole business of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the *Greeks* that besieged them, saies, That *they*, having the happinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

χερσὶν σπεισάμεντες ὧν ἔχλω ὕπνῳ:

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the Children did it. And so *Medea* tells her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med. v.  
1036.

Καὶ κατθανόντων χερσὶν ὦ σπασαίην.

If the Husband died the Wife did it. Which happinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

---ὦ δάμαρτ' ἐν χερσὶν

Troam. v. 277.

Πέπλοισι συνεσάλησαν.

If a brother; the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

ὦ δὲ. πῶς δὲ μ' ἀδελφῆς χερσὶ σπεισάμεν δὲν.

Id Iphig. in  
Taur.

A lack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

## C A P. XX.

*De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.*

a In vita Nul.  
ma.

THE body being dead, beg an from thence to be *Sacrum*, *Sacred*; those that are dead are called *iesgi* by *Plutarch*, and the

the graves themselves *ἀγνά ἡεῖα* by *Lychophron*, as soon as the body was in. *Sacred* I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, inasmuch that if a man had but toucht it, *μηδὲ στυγερῶς* (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, as *πυγυῖα*, as a Jew: *Toucht* did I say? when *Hyppolitus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay to see him dead, for fear of pollution.

καὶ χαῖρ' ἑμοὶ δὲ δέμῳ φθιτῶν θεῶν,  
οὐδ' ὁμαρξαίνεν θανάτιμον ἐκπνοῆς,

The same may be said of the graves *ἀγνά ἡεῖα*, saies *Hesiod*; for *ἀγνά* they were not, but onely in this sense, that they were *ἀνίμω*, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἔτι δ' ἀνιήτοισι γαστέρι —

*Eur. Hypp. v.*  
1437.

Inasmuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of *ἀγνά* themselves. The whole performance of the ceremonies used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Æschylus*) *Συγκομιδή*, as the elation or carrying forth, was called *ἐκκομιδή*. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of money above a half-penny ('twas dearer there than at Rome) and put it into his mouth to speak his fare to the *πρόδρομοι*, or *Ferriman Charon*: the piece of money was called by the name of *δραχμή*, because it was given *πρὸς δαυοῖς*: which signifies the *dead*, from *δρῶς* dry, because of their *dry bones*. I remember the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

— *πρὸς τὴν Ἀνάνην λείδον* (saies that there was a stone which the Poet faim'd to be *ἐν αἰδῷ*, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Ananus* *ὡς δὲ τὸ αἶμα τὸν νεκρὸν ἔστι*, because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.

Together with the money, they threw in a morsel of pudding

ding or paff, or Cheefe, to give to *Cerberus* to flop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was usually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιτήτα*, and *μελιτήτα μελιτωτήν* ἐξ ἰδίου τοῖς τεκεῖς ὡς εἰς τὸ Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead.

*Melle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam*  
*Obſicit,*

*Æn. 6.*  
*Metam. l. 6.*

*Apuleius* ſpeaks of more pieces than one, *offas polenta mulſo concretas*: and ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in \* *Lufſtrate* uſ'd it but in the ſingular number

\* *Ariſtophan.*

— πρὸν ὧήσῃ.

*Μελιτήταν ἔγω· καὶ δὲ μάζω.*

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtom in thoſe words of his in *Pace*.

ἔτ' ἀλγῖτ' ἔτε πρὸν ὧς ἀπλάμαιθ'.

## CAP. XXI.

*De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinſtura, & amiculo ſerali.*

**I**F the party deceaſed were free of the City, the *κατακῶ* (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his boxells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe \* did the to ty of *Tabitha* before they laid her in the upper room. This accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in a *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelf aforehand, and ſave the Women a labour: *ὡρα τεσπέσαι πρὸς το λούειν, δοκεῖ γὰρ ἡδὴ βέλγιον ἢ λουόμενοι πῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ ποτάγματα τ' ὡς ἀξί παύειν τεκεῖν λέγειν.* Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to dye for her Husband. ſaies the

\* *Aſſs c. 9 v.*  
*35.*

*Eurip. v. 157.*  
*Electra.*  
*Ala Phadone.*

Poet

Poet. Ἡ ἐμὶ γὰρ ἡ θεὰ ἡμεῖς \* κλέαν  
 ἤκισαν, ὕδατι ποταμίοις λεκάνῃ γέβα  
 ἤλυσαν.

b Eurip. Alc. 7  
 v. 116.

When she perceiv'd the day appointed near,  
 She wash'd her self in river water clear,

In allusion to this custome \* *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a \* *apud Euripo*  
 washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, when she fan-  
 cied to see:

Ἰφίγιον αὐτὴν δὲ θανάμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death  
 of that son by the washing of the pillar. To this washing,  
 (it may be) alludes that expression of *Strepsiades* to his son in  
*Aristophanis nubibus*.

ὡς περ τ' ἠνθεῶ τ' καταλέν με τὸν βίον.

He casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead.

This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in case of  
 necessity others might serve. And therefore in c *Galen* you c *De Method*.  
 shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poor *Theogenes*, be. *Medendi* l. 13.  
 cause he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do c. 15.

Having washed the body, they anointed it with ointments,  
 and pour'd *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies,  
*Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

Χεῖρον τ' ἀμβροσίῃ

Il. 17.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, wo-  
 ven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend *Homer. Odys.*  
 for the purpose: having also τὰς τεταίας, bands or lists of cloth,  
 to tie the hands and the feet withal, such as \* *Lazarus* had. \* *John* c. 11.  
*Feralibus amictulis obstrietas*, saies \* *Apuleius*. The colour of the v 44.  
 throwd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Greci-  
 ans, but black with the Latines. *Metam.* l. 10.

## CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur  
De lecto, & de collocaione.

HAVING thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheer, and his *πέπλη*: next they trim'd him with Garlands, *ἐδίδου τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανός, ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένους*, saies *Duidas*, as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out: and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him say, *πῶς σε καταστραφάσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν*, how shall I crown thee with my tears? an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talibius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. 16m.

Eur. Troam.

v. 1143.

Artem. l. 1. c.

14.

— πῶς σοὶ δάκρυσι νεκρῷ

Στέφανός δ' ὅση σε δάμας, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his feet outward toward the gate: as being never to put his foot in the house again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (*τὸ λέκτρον*) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave *ἑν' αἵματι*, as it is likewise termed *λοιμητῆριον*, and so the dead are called *ἐνδοῦτες*, and *κατακοιμημένοι*, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs and Flowers, (as *Euripides* saies) *ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ εἶρη βλαστήματα*, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they placed it, or set it forth at the doors, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

— ἀνὰ θρόνον τιθεμένη.

This placing of him they called *σεντίδως*, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alceftis*.

\*In Hel

— ὃ πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν.

\* Eurip.

During the *πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν*, and all the time till the *ἐκταφὴ* (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur, ἐξεκμύζετο*, as S. Luke faith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the door, a great earthen vessel filled with water, whith they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessel is called by *Hesychius* *πύραξ*, by *Pollux* *ἄρδανον*, and by *Aristophanes* *ὄρεχον*, in that place where he speaks of the *ἀλκυονες* too, that is the Pots for oynments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good herbs *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unless it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stufte Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies *τῶνδε* was ἢ ἐκ *κληματίδων* *λάμπας*. And so our Poet in *Lucretius* calls it *ἄμπλεον* *φάνδν*: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oynment, and the Vine branches together.

Ἵπὸς τῶν νεκρῶν νεκρῶν τὸ δειγνέ  
καὶ κλήμαδ' ὑπὸ δὲ συγκαλῶσαι τίπτεσσιν  
κί ταιγίωσαι καὶ πύραξ τὰς ἀλκυονδας  
Ἵδὲ τὸς τε κατὰ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν νεκρῶν τὸ δειγνέ

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (verse 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any Spring-water *πρῶτον ἔρριβα* (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the door as the custome was.

The washing it self was called *λύεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῶν*, like the *Israhelites* *βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκρῶν*, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus* cap. 34. v. 23. and in *Numbers* c. 19. v. 11. The Romans used *affusionem*, a *perfuming of the house*: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greeks too, as may appear by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

κατὰ δὲ

a Eurip. Hel.  
v. 1446.

α Καθαρόν δὲ ἡμῶν δώματ' ἐστὶ θάλασσαν  
Ἐυχλὴ ἀφ' ἧς Μελέαυος —

Our house is clean, for *Menelaus* here  
Lost not his life —

## CAP. XXIII.

*De ritu effertendi & portandi corporis.*

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatening *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort.) saies she

b Id. in Troad.  
v. 446.  
ll. 11.

β Κακὸς κακῶς ταφίση νυκτὶς, ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Therefore the next day after the Collocation, before Sun rising,

ὡς ἔρᾳν ῥοδῶδα κηλῶ ἡῶς,

(saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) at break of day, up the Corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely

\* De Lucina

ὡς αὐτὸς οἱ πομπῶν κακοτημένῳ (saies *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a skew. Now it was carried (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Homer* ἐν ὀπί ὕρῳ νεπὶός, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ ἄνδρων, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. But upon mens shoulders up aloof ἄρῳν, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alceſtis*, where he speaks also of φορσπολοὶ Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

a Eurip. Ale.  
v. 607.

φορσπολοὶ.

φέρων ἄρῳν ἄρὸς πέρον τε, ἢ πνεῶν.

In the like sense he uses the word φορῶν in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being rudg'd away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulyſſes* had slain him.

τὶς ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς ὁ θεὸς, ᾧ βασιλεῦ

τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χρεῖν



φορέδω πέμπει —

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears, and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*.

— *Hastam alii, galeamq, ferunt* —

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as they did then

— *Et versis Arcades armis.*

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernal gods, to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Phera* concerning his Wife,

ἄ Τμήτ' ἢ πῶ δαίμον, ὡς νομίζῃ,

a Eurip. Alc.  
608.

Περσέειπ' ἔζουσιν ὑστ' αὖτις ὁδόν.

Those that accompanied the corpse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the Women (but not unless they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πένθος about her; whatsoever that was.

b Diog. Laert.  
L. 1. 10.

c Demost. ad.  
Macart.

## CAP. XXIV.

## De Ministerio Funerarium &amp; Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had **אֲנָחַן**, and the Romans *Præficus*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, **ἀοιδὸς**, or **ῥήτων ἑξάρχης**, as Homer calls them; or **μυθῆταις** as *Nonnus*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

*Eurip. Alc. v.*  
439.

Ἀλλῶν δ' μή κατ' ἄνδρ', μὴ λύγης κτύπον

Ἔγω —

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuus quoque ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est, ad cælum redire creditur*. Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing **οὐκ ἀνέγειν**, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phænissæ*, **ἄλυσεν δὲ μεῦσαι**.) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing **πρὸς αὐλόν**. for else why were there **πυθαῖλοι** Pipers among them? as there were *Siticini* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them **ἢ κόσμον**, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

κόσμου δ' τὸν σὸν ἔχουσ' ἢ δ' ἐν δούλῳ.

I have some cause to think that some of those *κόσμοι* which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased; for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if so, then those *νεπέτρων ἀγάλματα* \* (neer the place above quored) \* 1b. v. 612. said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *images*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the gods of the dead, and not the dead themselves.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replied, by no means; for

*Κἂν γεαυὲς θάηται, πλουσίως ταφῆσται.*

If old she die she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the hair.

## C A P. XXV.

*De Capillis contendis in Lucretio.*

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and baldnesse (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their hair *ἐν ᾄ* (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lyſias* \* L. 3. c. 10. cited by *Aristotle* in his \* *Rhetoricks*) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

Perſians at Salamis, ſaies he, ἄξιον ἦν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῶν ἡρώων ἔσθαι  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πλεονάτων κατεσθῆναι τὴν ἑλλάδα. *It had been no leſs then de-  
 ſert, if all Greece had been ſtaved at the burial of thoſe gallant  
 ſouldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this ſuffice not, you  
 may take the teſtimony of *Euripides*, who would have the  
 whole Country of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

— ἰαχὴν τοῦ Κυνεαπία

Ζίδαςεν ἐν κρήνῃσι τιδύσαι κέεμον.

And he himſelf when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourn-  
 ed for after this manner, by no worſe man then *Archelaus*  
 the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtome,  
*Strabo* ſpeaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from  
 the *mourning-hair*, cut in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*.  
 So you ſhall meet with the like praſtiſe of *Tellus* in the behalf  
 of *Phaeton*: and of *Bacchus* the god (as *intonſus* as he was)  
 for the loſſe of his wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelf at  
 this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And  
 in the Prophecy of a *Jeremy* you may read, *Cut off thy hair, and  
 caſt it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tiſ true, they were to  
 be blamed for theſe follies, and in *Cicero* you ſhall meet  
 with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelf, deriding the uſe of this cu-  
 ſtome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem in luſu capil-  
 lum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvario maior levaretur*, as if he aggra-  
 vated the former loſſe of his friends, with another of his hair.  
 What if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſſe to be true  
 too) th t it was a cuſtome to cut the hair in token of joy?  
 For firſt among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall  
 find *Joſeph* cutting his hair, when he came out of Priſon;  
 and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David* for joy doing  
 the like. Nay that action of *Job* it ſelf, is by *Origen* (the *Al-  
 legorical Interpreter*) thought to have been an expreſſion not  
 of ſorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience un-  
 der his affliction. 2ly, Among the Romans, you know their  
*squallid Priſoners* let their hair hang down long, that they  
 might look the more dejected, and ſo move the Judges to  
 pity

a c. 7. v. 29.

b Tasc. Q. 1. 3.

piety when they came to be tryed.

*a Aspicē demissos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epistles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their hair grow long in times of sadness, may appear by that of *Lycophron*.

Κεῖνός δ' ἄνερος γῶτα χαλκὺν τε φέβη

Μήμῳ παλαίων τιμῆος ὑδρῶνται.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ἐὶ δ' αἰς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ χαίρειν, τὸ χαίρειναι, the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they use for cutting the hair. To reconcile these things, perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their hair shorter by way of a κῆρυξ, or a trimming (as we call it) was a token of joy; but shaving it close, even to baldnesse, of sorrow and dejection, as among the Jews, weeping, and mourning, and baldnesse were joyned together. I know there are some, that think to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' ἑλληνῶνται δυσχερὲς γέννται, κτερονται ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες κομῶσι ὅτι ἀνδρες, that the women expressed their sorrow by cutting their hair, and the men by letting it grow. Which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelesnesse, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usuall fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greeks, for Women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

*Capillus passus, prolixum, circum caput  
Rejectus negliger.*

*a Ovid. In  
Epist.*

*Isai. c. 22. v. 12*

*b In Heaut.  
Act. 2. 51. 3.*

## CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

**W**Hen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, *εὐδαίμων*, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls *ἀλφίτων κυκῶνα*, a *Barly-mash*, (Ale, its like.) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

Eurip.

Κὶ συμπερῶσαι μελῶν πέπλων χλαδῶ,

Ovid Met. l. 8.  
fab. 9.

2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles**Fadat humi fusos* —

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Suppl.  
v. 826.

— ἀμφὶ ὃ σποδὸν

Κάε κηρύματα: —

Smyrnaus. β.

3 *Κόπηδαι* (which is used for *πινθῶν*) to beat their breasts and their thighs, and cut and tear their flesh like a Jew: as one saies

\* In Hel.

\* αὐμόρουσαι χροὰ χλαδῶ.

Making streaks and furrows with their nails in their face (as *Euripides* uses the word *αὐλακίζν*.

— ὄνυξιν ἢ λοκίσματι\*)

b In Aujb.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection *ἔ, ἔ, ἔ, ἔ*, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon *b Aristophanes*) comes the word *ἔλεος* to be used.

used for a song of lamentation viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ λυγροῦ.

But at a Funeral, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of Sorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpose to restrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum fueris ergo habento, Let Women, &c.* Their customs they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the *a Tragedian* for a very ordinary practice, where he shews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the spot of Holy-water, nor so much as a lock of hair could be seen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Cicero De Legib.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

Καῦτα τ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρὸς ποταῖ--  
-ος, ἃ δὴ νεκύων πύδοισι πτενῶ.

2. As they went along with the corps they kept their head close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

See Esther, c. 6 v. 12. and Jerem. c. 14. v. 3.

— ἀναθλύψῃ ἢ κασιγνήτον χέει  
ἐκ θακρῶν τ' ἀπλᾶς —

Be uncoverd, &c.

In like manner *Theseus* (as it is in another *b Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his help κατὰ χλαυδοῖς, all be muffled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, and to him

b In Suppl. v. 110.

λέγ' ἐκχλύψαι καὶ ἃ παρὲν ῥόν.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So *c Helen* saies of the Trojans

c Id. Hel. v. 376.

ἐπὶ δ' ἔσταν χέρας ἔθηκεν.

3. Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noyse with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they go for the purpose to weep)

Σίγα, Σίγα λεπτὸν ἰχθυῶ ἀρβύλης

Τιθεῖται, μὴ κλυπῆτε, μεδ' ἔσω κύπῳ.

Saies



al. i. c. 21. v. 27. Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of *4 Kings* tis said that *Ahab* lay  
b. c. 38. v. 15. in Sackcloth *וְהָיָה וְהָיָה* and went softly, and so *Isaiah* saies,  
*I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul* *וְהָיָה*  
though I know some translations render it otherwise.

4 When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to  
end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they  
would cut off all the best locks of their hair (*πρόκαμον* or *βό-  
σφυον*) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire.  
And this they called *πρόκαμον καὶ ἐν* and *προκαύτης προχῆς* (as it  
is in *Aristophanes*) or *πυμάτων βόσφυον* (as in *Aeschylus*) or *π-  
ρόκαμον χλιδιδῶ* (as in *Sophocles*) or *ἀπαρχῆς ἑ καὶ κῶμης* (as it is  
every where.) All their best Locks I said; for I remember how  
*Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *He en* for dealing *π-  
ύργως* deceitfully, and hiding the best of her hair to give it, at  
the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed *ἴδεις τὸ κατ' ἀλὴθῆσαν διη-  
γόντας πάντα ἑ πρόκαμον τεμῆν*, they should cut it all, saith the  
Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a  
reason or two for the action, viz. First, to make them seem  
squallid, & careless, and contemptible; whereas to *κατ' ἀβρό-  
πιτα καὶ καλλωπισμῶν ἐμπόρεται*, are used for ornament, and spruce-  
ness, as being *πρυφῇ ἑ καραλῆς* (as I may say) the Luxury of the  
hair. Then, tis known that the Greeks were *χερνοκομῆντες*,  
and used to wear their hair long *ἐμόνον εἰς καλῶς*, *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν  
σοβειῶν* saies the Scholiast, both to please their friends and to  
fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it  
so, (calling themselves *Ἀχερνοῦται*, and such as cut it too short  
*κερητῆς*) that *κομῶν*, signifying to wear hair long, has been used  
to signify to be d proud.

c II. β.

d II. γ.

2 *ἵνα διὰ τέτι πένθος ἴλαος αὐτοῖς ὁ νεκρὸς ἦ*, to get the good  
will of the deceased party, and the Manes. Some again  
say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or  
Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and so they  
call'd it *ἐπὶ πῆνεια ποιῆν*, *ἀνταποδοῖναι τὰς ἀνατροφὰς*. But why  
then should *Hercules* do it to *Sostratus* he who was but his  
Ganimede. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for  
the

\* *Pausan.*

the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of eleven  
daies) the Women were not to wear any \* Jewels, neither  
was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at first were  
but one thing, viz. \* Wood for heat and light too.) *λύχνας*  
*ἀνὴρ ἐν πύρρῃ* & *ἑρμῆς*, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome  
some do refer that in the Satyrift.

*Pulvis proceres. &c.*

— *inve odimus ignem.*

In the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palestre*,  
and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the  
Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to return  
to the Corps, and see it buried as soon as I can for fear of giving  
offence (as I told you before.)

\* *Lycophr.*

\* *Vid. Suid. in*

*ἑρμῆδος &c*

*Helych. in*

*Δαλδς,*

*Joven. Sat. 3.*

# CAP. XXVII.

*De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepultura.*

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the  
gate called *Ἡερᾶν*, so called because they led to the *ἡέρα*, the  
Graves, or the Common place of burial. This gate is sometimes  
called *Ἱερὰ πύλαι*, a *Sacra Porte* whether in opposition to the  
*πύλαι σποφῆδες* (in *Plutarch*) or the *χαρδινὸ πῶλον* (you may  
render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phrase, or *Scelerata*  
*Porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefac-  
tors; I am yet to seek: for Malefactors were to suffer death  
without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It  
seems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature  
alike unclean, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion  
of either.

\* *Therph.*

\* *Αραϊδ.*

\* *1. Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King, or a \* *Kings and*  
Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, to shew that he  
might not be a *Mountain* \* forever) according to that in  
*Lycophon.*

\* *Princes are so*

*called in Scrip.*

*as Isaiah, 41.*

*15. &c.*

Τεταρτὸς δὲ παρχύσσει Κερκῶφι γόπαι

Æt. 11.

Or that of <sup>a</sup>Virgil.

\*

— *suit ingens Monte sub alto  
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere bustum.*

L. ib. de Orig.  
Gent. Rom.

\* *Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus* *circa radices Montis cui ex se nomen dedit*, unlesse you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and so the hills must be made by the buryer, as \* *Lucan* saies

\* L. 8.

*Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.*

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

— *ἄσθ' αὐθιμασι γαῖης*

*Βοῆς πολυκλήτους εἰς αἶδω δάμης.*

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of *οἱ Κεραμικοὶ*, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔξω τῷ πύλαις, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Aristophanes* in his *Rane*, calls them *τὰς παρὰς*, the *Burials* or the *Burys*. That burial place within (otherwise called *Δημόσιν σῆμα* by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read that sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in \* *Euripides*.

\* In Rhæf.  
v. 890.

— *τετάρτῳ*

*Θάπην καλεῖν λαοφύβους περὶ ἐκπύας.*

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the bodies : when they came to the place of buriall, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ πρῶτον τὰ σώματα τεθνησκόντων ἀπόβλεπον ἑκατεροὶ διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ πύρης γίνεσθαι, εἰς ὅς ὅτως ἐδάπτειτο ἑκὸς γλῶ, the custome was at first to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam. 10. Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levis se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, because by this means the body might presently consume all away to nothing. But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people. Infomuch that the *Magi* among the \* *Persians*, thought it ἀνόσιον a thing most prophane \* *Diog. Laert. l. 10.* (I fear me more for the Fire then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that πύρεθ' a Grave, should come from πυρεθαι, τὰς τῶν κατεδαί, to burn, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two : as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common, for they denied the use of it, first to Infants. 2 To such as kild themselves. 3 To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguriis*, struck with the Planet (as we say) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Jupiter*, must needs be buried γαίης σφόνδα, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

Ἡ ποίσις ἐστὶν ὡς τὰ κτενὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ θάνατος

And I fly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Inasmuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*. the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country. and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himself, adding withall

-----ὅ δὲ ἐν τῷ

Γνωπίζε γὰρ αἰτέ πρὸς ἀεὶ ἀφ' ὧν θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐτιθέτω νόμος ὅτι περὶ τῶν μὴ θαπτόμεναι, ὅσα ἂν νομοθεσέντων ἐκινήσῃ. Hence came the Law, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobins* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Promethens* with these words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον εἰ δὲ στατοῖς· πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it. The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the

the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, *σφιζόμενος αὐτὸν* putting a fallacy upon him, as if he had his son indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he used him better then *Cyniras K. of Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him but one true ship, and posed him along with ships and men made of clay for the rest. The story is likely enough, but he that told me said he did not believe it, and \* *χ. Hom.* therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reason II. A. son or two of the use of the custome, either because τὸ τὸ νεκρὸν ἔστι καθαρόν, every dead thing is impure, and so it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, because it was commonly used to such a purpose, as being ἀγνισκόν, able to make that pure and chaste which before was adulterated with heterogeneous abasements and alloys: Whence *Enripides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body πλεὶς καθήγνισται. Or else to shew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joynd in society with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θῆον τὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀναπορνεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ χύματι πῶ πλεῖ (how neer this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) σερμίζει τὸς ἑταίρους. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I shall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is said ἀναγνίσθηναι, to be made again by the fire, and so to become *καλὸς Ἀσπίας*, as he calls it. Thus the naked So- Ib. *χ.?* phisters of India (*πυρκαυσταί*) used to burn themselves into that \* *Cic. Tuscul.* immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put *Ϟ. L. 5.* them to ask what they would.

## C A P. XXIX.

*De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis.  
De loculis & reliquiis.*

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speaks of *Heclor*.

Il. ω.

Εν δὲ πυρὶ καύτη κεχρημένοι ἐσὶ δ' ἑβαλον πῦρ.

\* *Herc. Fur.*

v. 241.

a *In Trach.*

b L. 15.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oake: as in *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορυδα δρυὶς *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenens*: unless I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

*Manilius l. 4.*

— ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis

*Et collecta rogam facerent fragmenta carina.*

Thus to burn the bodies they called it *πυρρὴν τὰ σῶματα*, and the Bone-fire it self *πυρρὴν*.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bonefire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Pairoclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legio*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that *πῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς ἑσίοις ἐχόνουσιν*, \* they swept up the ashes together in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water brought

\* Il. 4.



brought in *χύψαις* pots for the purpose, by the *ἐνχρηπίταιαι*, \* *Etym. Mag.*  
(Women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and  
such other things as they used in the *χοαί*) and having anointed  
them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped  
them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they cal-  
led *θάλας*, or *πύλον*, or *σοεὶν*.

\* Ὡς δ' ἔστιν ὅσα γὰρ ὁμῇ σοεὶς ἀμφικαλύπτει...

\* Il. 4.

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in *Lychophron* called *κρωαὶς*,  
as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* *χρυσῆς κρωαὶς*, as if it were  
to be gilded. And in \* *Plutarch* *λίανθ' σοεὶς*, as if it were  
to be stone, methinks it may be called a coffin, for  
I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which  
is longest a rotting, and is therefore called *νεκρῶν ζών*, the life  
of the dead. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such  
coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of  
purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But  
that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the  
word *κέδρες*, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to  
decide in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his  
Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

\* Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐποικήσω κέδρες.

\* *Eurip. Alc.*  
v. 355.

Σοῖτες δ' εἶναι πάλαι —

As with not unreasonable; seeing the thing desired was so usual  
both among the Greeks and the Romans too. *St. Austins* own  
Mother was of the same mind: for why?

*Quos certus amor quos hora novissima junxit*

*Ovid. Met. l. 4.*  
*fab. 2.*

*Composi tumulo non invidetis eodem.*

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in  
the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies  
*Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that  
which the fire left, were called *λείψαρα* or *Reliques*. And they  
were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*,  
*ἄλλως οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.* lest they should be exposed to the rage  
of too deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraigne  
Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the  
coffin.

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of Ovid.

*Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ*

*Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.*

\* *Vetus Gloss.*

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, *δοῦναι ἀγνιαὶ*. *οὐκ ἐστὶν αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν τῷ ὁδοῦ καὶ τῷ ἀγνισμῷ τῶν πρὸς νεκρῷ*, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

*Virgil.*

— *Magnâ maxes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this al-

ready) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved

unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *ἀπότροι*.

a *Diog. La.*

\* *Harpocr.*

## CAP. XXX.

### De Tumulis.

THE customes used in a cold burial were these. (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was usuall chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, *πρὸς ὅσῳν χώμῃ Ἀγχιεὺς τάρη*, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place *μνῆτα ἑσθλῶν τάρων* and the Latine word *Tumulus* a heap or a grave. But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps — *Λατοισὶ τ' ἑσθλῶμασι*. Whether earth or stones: it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

*Τύμβος*

Ἀλkestίς κατὰ τὰς ἐξῆς, saies the same Poet in a lb. v. 836.  
*Alcestis*, and in *Helena* — bὲν ἐξῆς τὰρ The po- b lb. v. 892.  
 ture which the body usually had in the grave, was with the  
 face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert.* in *Democrito*; to-  
 wards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone  
 which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of  
 the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse.  
*Plato* was for just four Heroick verses and no more. Such  
 epitaphs they called γνώσματα, because they made known  
 the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memoriae*, be-  
 cause they made them remembered. And therefore the *Lacedæ-  
 monian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to rye a ticket, or a note,  
 about their writts, to certifie of what condition they were;  
 that in case they should dye in the fields, they might have  
 a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Ha-  
 ving thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to Sacrifice,  
 and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sic tibi terra levis*.  
 Such a prayer as the *Chorus* in *Euripides* used for *Alcestis*.

— κῆρα σοι

Χθὼν ἐπάνω πῶσαι, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a  
 wicked c fellow, or a d Coward, so they thought it too little to c V. 462.  
 be denyed to another: and this made *Menelæus* to fear so d καὶ δς.  
 little to dye, for saies he

εἰ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ

c *Eurip. Helo*  
v. 857.

Εὐ ψυχὴν ἀνδρα πολέμιον θανόντ' ὑπο

Κύφῃ καταμπήχυσεν ἐν πύμβῳ χθονὶ

Κακὸς δ' ὑπ' ἔρμα σπέρων ἐμβαλλυσι γῆς.

# CAP. XXXI.

## De Infernis.

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the  
 gods of the dead (for *infernum* or *adus* or *adus*, is a place  
 LI for

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (τὸ ῥέαν) per-  
chance to get the neerer to them) according to that practise in  
Ovid.

Met. l. 7.

*Haud procul egest à scrobibus tellure duabus  
Sacra facit.*

O. J. 11.

\* Æn. 6.

The Victim then slain, was either a barren Cow, as \* *Hæmer*  
saies

— τειγὼν βῦν, ἥπερ ἀέλσῃ, And *Virgil*,

— *Sterilemque tibi Proserpina, vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the  
grave of *Agamemnon*.

\* Eurip. Ele.

Æt. v. 513.

\* Πνεῦσ' δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἷν μελάγχμον πόκος

Στάμον εἰσέδδν —

a In Oedip. v.

596.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

And such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere*, &c. the  
reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either be-  
cause it suited best with mourning: or because it was to the  
black gods of the dark. For as *Arnobius* saies, *Diis lavis sedes  
habitantibus inferas color furvus est gravior*. Afterwards it  
rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it  
were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a  
sprayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor  
Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γεννῶντα ζῶα, or δοῦτε ἐστέρων, ἢ  
ζῶα μὴ ἦσαν ἴσχυρας, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same  
reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offer-  
ed down both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast,  
which grew upon his fore-head, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, viz. ὡς ἀλόχῃς τὸ  
θμῖον ἀποστέμμενοι, that they might not give the dead, either  
that which had life in it self, or that which could beget it in  
another thing. Those setæ, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar  
manner termed ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, and the offering thereof, ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς,  
as in these words.

Hom. Il. 4.

— ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς κεφαλῆς τεύχεα ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων

Ἀργυροδοτῆς ὕμν.

Il. 5.

Thus rended in the words of *Virgil*,

*Et summas carpens media in ex cornua setas*

*Ignibus imposuit —*

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick funeral, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practise of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all, at the funeral of *Maestrius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephestion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the walls themselves of the Town of *Ecbatane* *ἡνδίκας* (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them *εἰς ἄσπερ* close to the ground. And, I remember, in *Æuripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wife's funeral in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut.

— *ἡ μὲν δὲ τῶν*

*Πόλιν σὺν ἡμῶν πένει' αὐχένων φόβω.*

Then besides the victime they had *τὰς ῥαῖς* *Libationes*, which was usually *μελίχερον*, hony and milk and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it a right

— *ἐμπύρην ὀδοῦσάντας*. In *Æuripides*, the manner of using these liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and pour out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he c saies *ἵππας ἀσπιδὸν*) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* saies *κωλῶντις ἕξ ἀκρῶς*, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was

*Ἐλένησ' ἀδελφεῖ δὲ δούρῳ χροῖς.*

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those *χροῖς*, were usually termed *ἡδωπῆτοις*, and *δελκῆτοις*, and *κληνῆτοις*: *Χροῖς*: and they made choise of the most proper liquors, for to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Æuripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, *ὦ παῖ πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἑμῶς, Νέεαι Χροῖς με τὰς ὃ κληνῆτοις νεκρῶν ἀρωγὸς*, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagues at Troy, and their friends at home, saies she, *Their Parents be-*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

---- ἡ δὲ τοῖς τέφρῃς

Ἐδ' ὅστις αὐτῶν ἄμμα γῇ διαρήσεται.

— nobody have

To let a victim's blood upon their grave.

# CAP. XXXII.

*De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phylloboliâ.*

**B**ESIDES all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the horse and the corps : And this action they called στεφανῶν ἢ πύμβον, and the Garlands themselves ἑσπῆς and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἡγετισμένους, made of a *Col-lation*, or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπὶ ἢ ἔξω, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower πῶδος, (saith <sup>a</sup> *Athenaus* :) and then the Garlands were called πῶδοι too. And it may be sometimes of Σίλινθ or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that herb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick δεῖδω Σίλινθ, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight : but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the herb, when a man has won the best at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies <sup>b</sup> *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet condition of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτης ἀμεινίας ὁ σῖφον σὺμβολον. But I rather think

<sup>a</sup> L. 14. C. 5.

<sup>b</sup> *Pedag. l. 1 v.*  
c. 9.

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it *αὐτὸ τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ μεταφορᾷ τῷ ἡρώων*, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did *φυλλοβολῆν* (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena*, when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in *Euripides* with Myrtle.

— *τύμβος δ' ἀμφέθηκε μυρτιάς.*

a *Elegr. v.*  
512.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden-bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that *Æn. 6.* bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seems that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies *b Varro, ad L. 6. de L. L. Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Oclavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis, &c.* nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my Author, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

### CAP. XXXIII.

*De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus.*  
*& de Aquilis.*

EITHER upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the

L 1 3

Image



Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφὴ δ' ἔχει τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν

Εἰμαδὲν ἐν λίκτεσι κατὰ δῖον.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramics*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrare, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after: as Cicero saies, in *Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in praelio sunt interfecti: qua sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illa die recitari necesse sit.*

Lib. de Orat.

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; and some, *Solon*. But besides funeral-speeches, they had funeral-plays too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τῶρε.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, when they should have more wit: what will you say, if I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, viz. That even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Hecuba* her self, or the \* Poet for her.

\* Eurip. Tro.  
ad. v. 1247.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανῶσι διαφέρειν βραχύ.

Εἰ πλουσιότης τὸ δέξεται κτερισμάτων

Κερδὸν δ' γαίρωμ' ἐνὶ θῆζ' ἔσονται τὸ δ'.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,

How rich or poor they have the funeral,

Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

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Prince, whose soules they imagined ἑχέμεν to be carried into *Artemid. l. 2.*  
 heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they <sup>30.</sup>  
 were \* wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So  
 at Rome, when they buried an Imperour, they used to let fly  
 an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls  
*Achilles ἀετὶς* an Eagle, because he carried about *Hector's* body in  
 a Coach,

C A P. XXXIV.

*De Lustratione Domus funesta, & de Parentalibus, &c.*

Being come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the  
*House* with brimstone; and *themselves*, by going through  
 the fire, or some other lustration; for there were severall sorts  
 thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of  
 it. Thus I remember in the Poet, tis said they did to the Kings  
 house, who was slain by *Heracles*: rounding the Altar with a  
 Bisket, and dipping the *καλὸν* in the holy-water, and I know  
 not what more.

Ἰστὰ μὲν ὡς πύξιδ' ἱχθυόσιν  
 καδῶσι δῖον.

*Eurip. Herc.*  
*F. v. 923.*

After this they kept a feast, τὸ πύξιδεον *Silicernium*, or *cir-*  
*cum porationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that *Odys. 17.*  
 were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* saies, *quas inibant parentes*  
*coronati*. The colour of their apparel was white: & *quis un-* \**In vatinium.*  
*quam cognovit atratus*, saies \* *Cicero*, But how is it then that *Il. 24.*  
*Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the \**Ale. v. 427.*  
 death of her Son \* So I remember *Admeus* in \* *Euripides* bids  
 them mourn for *Alcestis*, ἢν μελανόπιδω σελῇ, in black: and  
*Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* πωσέλα  
 in a sky coloured gown. Perchance they wore black no longer  
 then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed  
 again, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἑννατα, and  
 thirty daies after, when they called it τριακοντάσις (when  
 they

they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their souls to the fields) but also upon the day of his death ever after; calling it *revivina*, and upon the day of his birth calling it *revivina*. The common name for all these feasts, or the common festival for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was *Nepuna*, usually kept in the Moneth of *Antheſterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Moneth of *February*, in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum, when the Kindred especially (*les parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅστις ἐχθρὸς ἀνδ' ὑμετέρης ἰδίας  
κτείνεσθαι

Nor so much as come neer the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*) that no stranger might be suffered to do it, for fear he might be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the Months of death, (for so \* *Homer* calls the grave) to be gnawn like a sheep, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry *ἄνθρωποι*. For *πυβόμας*, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the belly of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and inclosed in the stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *πυβδιδαι*. For so the *Vultures* are called \* *πρόσι ἐμύζου*, living graves: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even their mouths are open sepulchers, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that

\* *Il. p.*

*Psal. 49. 14.*

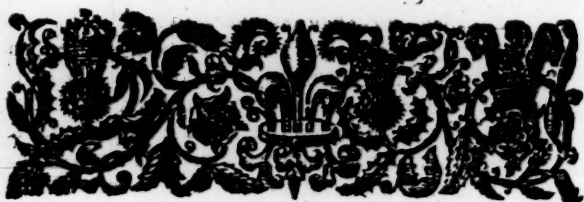
\* *Hermog.*

of *Tereus* when he eat his Sonne.

— *Seç, vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as *Lactantius* saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt: these great eaters *Death* and the *Grave* are all mouth, and no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouth. *Ad's in H's* *bowds*, saies *Æschylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἀσπιδος* *Sids* in *Enripides*. Neither (saies a \* Scho- \* On *Hom.* list) was *Death* ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I ll. know not wherefore. Let us see therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife, if she seemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, least she might be cunningly perswaded to marry with whom she should not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the punishment was arbitrary. The children were committed in *ἐπιτροπῇ* to a *Tutor*. He that was in *ἐπιτροπῇ*, to be overseer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all; or else so far off, that if the child should happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A *Tutor* was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way soever it were, he was *παιδὸς κηρύς* (saies *Æschines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themselves, or any else that would, might sue out *δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς*, a writ *Malè administrate Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this must be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.



# LIB. VI

## SECTIO. I.

*De Supplicationibus & juramentis.*

C A P. I.

*De Supplicibus sacris De asylis & aris.*



Having taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, because there has been something already done in that kind, I shall not speak so largely; only a word or two, or more of the customs used in Supplication to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I shall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided into three several Sections, the first of Supplication called by them *ἱκετεία*.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as Sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from Dodona's Vocal Forrest to the Athenians, related by Pausanias.

Φεῖο δ' Ἀρείον τε πάργυρα μὲς τε θυάδης  
Ἑυμειδῶν, ὅτι χρὴ Λακκαδαίμονίω ἱκετεύσαι  
Δεὲ' ἰκίζόμενος, πῶς μὴ σὺ κλέϊναι σιδήρῳ  
Μηδ' ἱκίτας ἀδικῶν, ἱκίτας ἱερεῖ τε καὶ ἀγροῖ.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἀυλοῖ, none might touch him upon pain of exillement. And therefore is it that Polidorus in Euripides makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

— Εἰ μὲν δ' ἐχέοι πᾶσι πέρας The Altars are not far off. So in another Tragedy, when Helena kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, Menelaus wondring thereat, what (saies he) dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode? a Eurip. Hel. v. 805.  
And no wonder that they thus fled to Altars, or that others feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer them: viz: Because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the Chorus in Ion tells Creüsa, the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death, True (saies she) but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter (replies the Chorus) sit fast, and if any one kill thee there.

ἢ περ σὺ παῖον αἶμα θύσεις,

Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the Law, and consequently encouraged to the transgression, were bold to complain of the injustice of it, as you have Ion in the Tragedy, thus

Φεῖ δεινόν γε θῆναι τοῖς πῶ νόμος ὥς ἡ καλῶς  
Ἐφθαλὰ ὁ θεοῖς, ἢ δ' ἀπὸ γράμης σφῆς

M m 2

T 2

Τὸς μὲν δ' ἄλλους βαμδὺν ἐν ἱερὶ ἐχέει  
 Ἄλλ' ἐξελδύειν, ὅδ' ἐν δ' φαίνεται καλὸν

Θεῶν ποιεῖν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only six, viz. *Misericordia*, *Minerva*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichia*, and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls, The first of these some say was the first *Asylum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn. 8. Postquam Hercules migravit e terris, nepotes ejus timen-* te, *insidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis sibi primi Asylum, hoc est, templum misericordie collocarunt, unde nullus posset ab-* duci. An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer condition than a man, ἔχει δ' καταφυγῇ μὲν διὰ πύργων, δόλοι δὲ βαμδὺς διῶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do *Eeles*, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatened to do.

in Rud. Act.  
 3. Sc. 4.

*Ibo Hercle aliquo queritatum ignem.*

*Ignem magnum hic faciam---*

and *Hermione* in

*Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltering her self by the Altar of *Theis*. Πῶς σὺ προσέσιον— on which the *Scholias*t thus ἔσθ' ὡς τοῖς βαμδὺν καὶ Κατὰ γὰρ τοῦ προσέσιον, &c. And yet all ἱκέτ' or *Petitioners*, were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of *ἑπείροι*, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when being *Ostracis'd* and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloss* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither, could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundered the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themselves, and all other such *prophane* companions after them called ἀσπίνοι, as who should say, *hinderers* & *ruiners* of supplica-



supplication. Profane, I said, for it was no better than profanation, according to the Poet, εἶρη μαινέται, the Garlands are Polluted.

Eurip. in Heracle.

C A P. II.

*De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.*

PETITIONERS both to the gods and men, used to go with εἶρα-  
ναι Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their  
hands <sup>a</sup> ἴνα αἰδέσθῃσι δοκῶν πῖς, is ἀπέπυον (saith the Scholiast <sup>a</sup> In Oed.  
on Sophocles) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those  
green boughs are called by the several names of θαλλοί, φυλλό-  
δεκτῆρες, ἱκτῆες καὶ δάδι, and sometimes ἱκατηρία for <sup>b</sup> Iphigenia <sup>b</sup> In Aul. 1.  
wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body <sup>c</sup> 1216.  
supply the room thus,

Ἰκατηρίαν δ' ὅ γ' ὄνασεν ἐξ ἀπλῆς σείθεν  
τὸ σῶμα τὸ μόνον---

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies) and  
so called then εἰρεσιώνας, vittatas laureas.

Δήτει μάλιστα σφραγῖδος ὀσμυμένον  
Ἀρσῶ τε μαλλῶ

Æschyl. in  
enim.

The wooll was not ty'd,  
and so fastened to the boughs, but only wreathed and wrapped  
up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthea* in  
the Tragedy of the *Theban Women Petitioners* (v. 31.) called it  
λαμὸν ἀδεσμον φυλλόδεκτῆ the Tye without a knot. The *Italians*  
used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

Jamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ  
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practise of the people of *Rhodes*.  
The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive*.

<sup>c</sup> Vittata laurus & supplicis arbor Olive.

First, because both these kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς not subject to wither-  
ing, and therefore <sup>d</sup> Euripides gives the latter the epithete of <sup>d</sup> In Ion. v.  
ἀειχλή. 2ly. Because the *Laurel* was a sign of prevailing, <sup>e</sup> Stat. Theb. l. 12.  
1436.

M m 3

and

a Dion. Halic.  
l. 4.  
b Soph. Oed. T.  
c Eurip. in  
Herac.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lastanius* saies, *per quam pax petitur supplicando*. Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtful of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the statue of the god, just as a *Lucretia* did *ῥοδάτων αὐτῇ λαβομένην*. But if hopeful, the hands. *ἔξικέσθωτε τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ διγῶν*. And if confident, the chin, and the cheeks, *καὶ σπῆς καὶ γενίης*. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *reμ.* (where the Poet desires to touch *Aacus* his knees, when he praises for a *Gale* of success for the *Agineta*) that when they desired the parties consent, they touched the head to have it *ammere*: when his help, his *helping* hand; when success, the knee. The last I know no great reason for, but *history* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quadam religio inest observatione gentium; hac supplices attingunt, ad hac manus tendunt; hac ut aras adorant*. All his reason is, because of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortasse quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate fossâ, cum jugulo, spiritus fugiat*. And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lise*, the *Petitioners* gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* *ὅτι οἱ κεταὶ ἐν τοῖς ῥόδασι ἔχον, ὃ τῶν τοῖς γεγραμμένα γεράσκει*, because Judges had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.

If the Petitioners were very fearful, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, *κύρην κατεφίλαν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας*. It was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum*, The old glosse calls it *φίλημα βασιλικόν, ἢ ἀσπασικόν βασιλικόν*. I have read of a kisse of the hand when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they used in counting the number of ten) and then giving a turn on the right hand, as it is in d *Plautus*,

d In Cutchi.

*Ono me vortam, nescio. Si deos salutas, dextro vor(am), censeo.*

The safest place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

fire w  
strang  
the h  
Cicero  
ligione  
hic foc  
hoc pe  
fas fir  
ashes,  
their m  
For th  
for he

This  
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Their  
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Tu  
wrest  
Prom  
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or pr

fire whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of Cicero in his oration for his house, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic are sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis ceremonia continentur: hoc perfrugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the athes, in as mournful posture as might be: they need not open their mouths for pitty; neither was it the custome so to do: For those actions speak loud enough; and an eye would serve for hearing.

Τῷ δ' ἄνω, καὶ ἀναυδοῖ ἐν ἑστῇ αἰχματὶ  
Ἰσανοῖ δ' &c.

This was the a practise of Ulysses at the house of Alcinous, and of Themistocles at the house of Admetus; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along with him for his guard, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ μόνῳ χεῖδον ἀνατρίψαντι ὁ γυναικῶν ἱκιστὰς ἦν Μολοσσῶν, the only way in use among the people to obtain a request.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, that their desires might be crowned with successe.

ἅ πάντας ὃ βαμὸς οἰ κατ' Ἀδμήτῃ δῖμυς  
Περσῆλδε καὶ ἀξέσιψέ, καὶ περσῆζατο  
Πτόρδων ἀποχέζουσα μερσιῶν φέβλυ.

Their usual gesture in praying, was to hold up their arms right toward Heaven, as c Helen saies

—ορδὺς ἀλάνας πρὸς ἑρᾶν  
ῥ' ἠπ' ἑρᾶν

But to wrest their hands as far as they could upon their wrests. According to that of Aeschylus, where he saies of Prometheus, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray manibus supinis, with bended hands like Women and children

L. 4. Argon.  
a Odyss. 7.

Thycidid.

b Eurip. in  
Alceps.

c Eurip. He-  
len. v. 1100

children.

ΤΟΥΤΑΚΟΤΟΜΕΙΣ ΞΕΙΔΩΜΕΝ ΧΕΙΡΩ.

Now sometimes, if they obtained their request, and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to show for a testimony.

### C A P. III.

#### De generibus & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more of that which we have observed in readings, concerning their manner of serving their gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. *ἐν κλισίᾳ*, or *χαιρήνεια*, *vota*, free-will offerings, services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

\* Ovid. Met.  
l. 9.

—\* *Cenæ sacra parabat*

*Vota Jovi* — 2ly. τὰ Ἀνὰ μαρτίας, such as were imposed, and commanded by an Oracle.

\* Sophoc. on  
Trach.

—\* *Εὐκταία παῦν ἢ πὺ μαρτίας τινός.*

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1. *ὑποχθονίοις* to the gods under ground, and that ἐν ἰσθμῷ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, for whom they had also Ἡρώα, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly *Τοῖς χθονίοις*, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. And 3ly *Τοῖς ἀεθλοῖς*, to the gods above ground, ἐν βωμῷ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the Latines therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks βῶμα & ἱεγυρ, and *χαίρας ἕρπον*, as if it were a work, *vallum*, or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἰσθμῷ, is set down by the Scholiast on

a Schol. in  
Arist. in Avib.

b Soph. in  
Tomb.  
c Eurip. in  
Herac.

Enripides

<sup>a</sup> Euripides thus, Βωμός is an Altar built up high with an ascent of severall steps: ἐχέει as it were one step it self, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle. (Just as they made their Λάγκοι <sup>b</sup> wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Diver) The occasion given him to make this distinction, was the words Βωμόνισθ. Eccles. μοι ἐχέει in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐχέει was there used in a large sence, for the hole, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the concavities in the top of the βωμός for the fire. At the making of a βωμός (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ὁσπεριὼν ἐφηνέον χύτρας ποικιλοχρῶν, for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the gods.

<sup>c</sup> Schol. in Aristoph. in Plut.

— τὰς χύτρας αἰς τὸ θεῖον  
Ἰδρυσμένω, λαβῶσ' ἐπὶ τὴν καυαλῆσιν.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῶμα or tumulus, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often <sup>d</sup> κυκλοσφῆς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usuall Mountains and high-places (so often objected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon these words of <sup>e</sup> Sophocles, τὸν Οἴτης ἱερὸς ὕψιστον πᾶν θεῶν ἢ θεοῦ τὸ Διὸς ὀνομαζήσεται ἐπὶ ὕψιστόν τι παρὰ θεῶν ὃν ὕψι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖται τὰς παρὰ αὐτὸν, every Mountain was called by Jupiters name, or consecrated to Jupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestiall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀβιβηλον καὶ ἀβατον,

<sup>e</sup> In Trach.

a Pindar.  
Isth. Δ.

b Schel. in  
Euphr.

c Suidas.

3ly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, a ἐν δυσμαῖν αὐγῶν in the evening, and to others in the morning.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ζῶον of living creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things without life; and those either ξερῶν dry, as corn and flower, or ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milk, or Honey, usually called by the name of ἕλ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγρὰ θύματα, wherein there was no blood, or ἀκαταθυσίας, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoke, or c. γράλιθ θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost likt it too well, and no such glorious a businessse as an ἐν τελεθ θυσία, a whole burnt sacrifice. Sometimes greater then a *Snouetauralia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τριπλὺς of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding — τελεθας ἱκατέμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seemes they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatening to complain of one that did so,

d Aristoph. in  
Equir.

d Καὶ ὁ φανὼ τοῖς πυτάνεσι  
Ἀδικατέυτες ἧς θεῶν ἰσ-  
εῖς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

## CAP. IV.

### De generibus & formulis jurandi.

\* Hesiod.  
\* Ep. ad Heb.  
6. 16.

Id m. in The-  
ogon.

O <sup>Pr</sup> an Oath, (the son \* of *Eris*, and yet the end \* of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μῆγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Αὐτῶ μὲν γὰρ θεῶν μῆγαν ἐμμεγαλὸν ὄρκον.

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word  $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron$  *an oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Stryx*, and his Sons agunst the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* saies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Stryx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himself submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he swore, as *Minutius* saies, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus penam prae sciens perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these waies, was properly said to  $\omicron\upsilon\nu\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ , and to yeeld himself up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witness that which was contrary to his *knowledge*, or his *meaning*. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

$\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\ \alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota, \ \chi\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\alpha\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\varsigma}\ \epsilon\mu\acute{o}\iota\omicron.$

By *Jove*, and the sorrowes of my Father,

The *Womens* oath was commonly by *Juno*; and by my Lady *Diana*, as a *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\upsilon\acute{\iota}\ \delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omega\rho\alpha\nu$  a In *Elect.*  $\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\nu$ , much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to swear by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter*  $\omicron\rho\kappa\iota\omicron$  with three names) viz.  $\iota\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\delta\delta\rho\sigma\iota\omicron$ , and  $\epsilon\chi\alpha\kappa\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron$ . For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poet, that saies

—  $\Sigma\eta\gamma\alpha\delta\prime\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\rho\kappa\omicron\nu$   
 $\theta\upsilon\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\iota\sigma\alpha\iota.$

*Eurip. Med.*  
v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to swear by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any *other* of the gods, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did



serve the turne: as when *Demosthenes* swore by τῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly dyed in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haile or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever him pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, ὅντινι μὲν πᾶσι θεῶν, as we say: *He lay you what you will*. This forme you may find used by *Plato* in *Phadro*, and *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of a *Euxitheus* to *Pythias*. Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant. And sometimes by all their twelve gods, (as the *Lacedæmonians* did by their two τῶν Σιδῶ, *Castor* and *Pollux*)

a L. 2. Ep. 2.

b Aristoph. in  
Fœst.

ἰσθῆτα θεῶν — by the whole jury of the gods, (neither honest nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Deos consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times again, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath ἡνὶ Ἐρμῇ τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, by *Mercury*. But then you should have some that out of meer *deisidamony*, would say no more then μὰ τὸν. By Ὁ. C. ἱστασθεὶς χάριν ἐπεσφραγίζεσθαι, with a religious *apostrophe*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it self, d μὰ τὸν ἔχον. ἢ or μὰ with *ra* before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and μὰ for a negative.

c Aristoph. in  
Ran.  
d Pind. Nem.

## CAP. V.

### De tribus in Juramento Magno.

THE customes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were these. The gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χεῖρας ἀνθεῖναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the New Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargain or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This ceremony, I remember *Menelaus* in a *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the word of her oath. aHelen.v.834

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑ τοῖς νῦν, δεξιάς ἐμὴς διγυε.

2ly, To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of one of these three beasts, *b* χεῖρας, κριός, and σφ- b Aristoph. in Lysist.  
ys. a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all three, and of every sort one or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do, of three sheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*.

— *c* λαμῖδες τοῖς τεῖσιν μίλων τεμνὴν which they called c Eurip. iSup. v. 1200.  
*μολοσφαγῆν*. Sometimes when they killed a goare, they cut out the stones (ὄρεα and ὄρες are pretty near kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a boare thus used is properly called *πυλίας*. Perhaps they used to sacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there was so great account made of it in other busineses, as solemne as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow (say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initiation without it. 2ly *Varro* *d* saith *pecoris immolandi initium sumptum a suillo*: that it was the first beast that was Sacrificed, which made some think that *us* was so called, *quasi* *us*, and *Sus quasi* *Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, (or employed to a sacred use,) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be eaten

*d De Re Rust.*

a Aristoph. in  
Luffi.  
b Eustath. in  
Il. γ.

a eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the b ground, or else threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnon*s.

## CAP. VI.

*De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.*

c In Avib.

**M**ικρὸς ὄρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their gods were hardly so much) such as per *Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, κίνα or χῆνα as the *Socratics* did, having that practise commended to them by their own Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon c *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book τῷ Κρητικῷ, had told them that *Radamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbid them to swear by the gods; but instead thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides*.

— καὶ πῶς καὶ τοὺς ἑμυμ.

d V. 1025.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Vingil*,

e L. 2.

*Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.*

Which was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) first, why they accounted the head ἱερόν, *holy and Sacred*. 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τὸ πῆμας, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἀγρόν ὄρκον, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by his head, and not her own. Αλλ' ἀγρόν ὄρκον σὲν καὶ κατόμωστα.

The

The Customs, both in the Little and Great oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes, creeping upon their hands thro' the fire, or holding in their hands a red-hot Iron, (*μυσθρὸς* they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* took the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *καὶ μὴ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἄμα, ἵνα μὴ εἴεν τέτοις μὴ ἀλλ' αἶν*, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain. Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like custome, we read to have been in use among the Saxon ancestors, and for the same purpose, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confessor, passing blindfolded in the spaces between a great many red-hot Plow-shares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the second holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themselves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, solemnly vowing to keep the oath without breaking, as long as the Sea should the Iron without swimming.

a Schol. Eurip. in He.

— b *μέχρεις τὸ μέγαν μέγας οἷον ἄλι μυσθρὸς.*

b Callimach.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swamme, and the water could endure it, he swore true; but if it sunk, and the water would not suffer it to be seen, he was to be punished immediately without more ado. And this puts me in League with the Athenians, which the Poet saies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be sent to Delphos to *Apobo*, to be there kept for a testimony, and a memoriall.

*Μνημεῖα δ' ὄρκων, μαρτυρήματα δ' Ἑλλάδ' εἰ*  
to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles* *Taius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes amoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of  
Who.e

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to stand in water up to the shinnes, with the table about her neck. If she were chaste, and had sworn true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπυρίετο (saies he) the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it goe up as high as her neck, and cover the table; least so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun, and the World in the face.

## CAP. VII.

## De perjurii religione.

**I**F a man made a conscience of swearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Inſomuch that ὕπορκος, was commonly used for εὐσεβής,

a In Plat.

οὐδέ τις εὐόρκος χάρις ἔσται ἔτε δικαίος. in Hesiod.

and ——— εἰ τι χαίρεις εὐόρκος ὅποις. in Aristophanes.

Whereas on the other side, when they expressed a very wicked man, they made use of the word ἐπίορκος perjurious. And therefore Aristophanes (in *unibibus*) speaking of Jupiters lightnings and thunderbolts, which some said, that they did more hurt to the wicked then to others, saies he, αἶμα βάλλει πρὸς ἐπίορκους, if perjured men are onely lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poore Oake tree is so often hurted? ὃ δὲ πρὸς ἐπίορκῳ since it can never be perjured. Such as were common and customary swearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδύτοϊ from Ἀρδύτος (saith Hesychius) the place where the oaths used to be administred. Now for the punishment of such vile persons, they supposed the furies every fifth day to have a visitation, and to walke the round, for no other purpose: according to that of b Hesiod.

b Dicb.

Ἐν πεμπτῇ θάφασιν ἑλένηνας ἀμφιπολεύει  
Ὀρχογ τῶν θυμίων ———

and

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he swore that he never had to do with *Briseis*, called the *Furies* to witnesse too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

— Εἰς νύκτας αἰδ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

Ἀνδρώπας τίνυνται, ὅστις κ' ἐπὶ ὀρκῶν ὁμῶται

Nay in some places, the insensible creatures seemed to be sensible of the sinne, and save the *Furies* a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in *Cicily*, there were certain *craueres* or *fonts*, out of which there rose sometimes flames, and sometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people used to resort from other places, for deciding of Controversies by taking an oath. For if any one swore false near these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these, there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὀρκιό, πάντων ἐπὶ αἰγλάμασιν ἵστος εἰς ἑλληνικὴν ἀδικῶν ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the most dreadful manner of any, viz. with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of brasse at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacall verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst to invoke that god in falsehood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

*Pausan. in Eliac.*

Οἷσιν ἔπε βαυμοῖ, ἔπε πῆστις ἔδ' ὀρκῶ μένει.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of *Lysander*, one of their own generalls, ἔξαπατῶν χεῖναι παῖδας μὲν ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν, πολέμιους δ' ὀρκῶν, fallere oportere pueros astra-



## S E C T. II.

## De Ritu Convivendi.

## CAP. I.

## De Lesehis, &amp; de tempore victus capiendi.

**W**Hat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable, and so he died) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodnesse of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appeare; how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beasts. For the first you may hear it from *Demosthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not so safe for such expressions) they brought going on the way, and carryed every one something under his arme, to furnish him for his journey, insomuch that at parting he cryed out Πᾶς εἶπεν Διήσομαι πιαυτῶν ἀπολιμπάνων πάλιν ἐν τῇ πατρὶτι πυχρῶσιν ἔχθροι, οὓς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλλὰ χεῖρι φέλος ὑπάρχει. How shall I endure to leave such a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where else? For the last you shall have two pretty instances, as I had them from the same Author. The first is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the house for killing a Sparrow, which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter: ὡς ἐν ὅσῳ δέδοται, saies



(saies he) as if he had not done righteous things. ἔχθ' ἔτις ἐρῶν χα-  
 ειρὴ δ' ἰαμβόπιδος ἢ ἔσπιν, not so much out of love to the  
 Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one Pra-  
 xistiles, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they punished much  
 after the same manner, as the Ramme was ἀπὸ συμπίπτειν.  
 The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared  
 either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and dis-  
 course. For there is ἐναχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies Theophrastus,  
 good cheere in words, as well as in meat and drink. Aristot-  
 phanes calls it φαγεῖν τὰ ῥήματα eating of words, Plantus, comedere  
 sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to  
 eat their words indeed, if they parted so much as by all mens  
 report they did. For they were so λογιῶσι (as the Character  
 terms them) so employed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τὸν λόγον, in dissemi-  
 nandis & spargendis, rumoribus; and were so much given to  
 spend their time in nothing else, but either to heare or to tell  
 some new thing, \* that I wonder with what face, they could  
 call St. Paul Σπερμιλόγον. Though I know some do rather  
 chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν to gather, as the Scholi-  
 ast on Aristoph. interprets τὸν Σπερμιλόγον to be τὸν περὶ τὰ  
 ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίων διατρέχοντα καὶ τὰ ἐν φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀνα-  
 λαμβάνων, such as watch for loose things that drop out of carri-  
 ages, and gather them up. The places where they met and dis-  
 coursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches  
 for the better sort: or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like  
 the Roman Taberna; Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila li-  
 bellas. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in  
 the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations  
 therein, they called Λόγος μακράτα λέγει saith Enripides. And  
 yet Sophocles in Antigone durst call the convention indicted  
 by the king, by the name of λόγος too. Now those shops were  
 commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κουεῖα καὶ  
 λόγια used by Polybius, i. e. Barbers talke, (as we say) Lye  
 like a tooth draver. But especially Smiths, and such as made  
 use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme them-  
 selves

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod.* l. 2. Concerning χαλκίον θῶκον ὅς. τὸ παλαιόν (saies he) τὰ χαλκίᾳ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργασίᾳ τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄδυνα ἔσθαι, ἃ καὶ λέγουσι ἔσθαι. And to this belongs that of *Homer.*

οὐδὲ θεῶν ἐνδὲν χαλκίον εἰς δέμον ἔλθον

II. Θ. ὁ. Σ.

Ἡέπυσις λέγεται.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Sicnliis*, childish and Idle, well besitting such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λέξαι, which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour, of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of *Λεχημβέου* (so saith *Smidas*; but it should be rather *Λεχημβέου*, saies *Meursius*) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the the day time: and sometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst themselves, was anciently, but once a day at supper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in severall places) it is not easy to determine. Some say, there were foure meales a day, viz. 1. Ἀκράτεια or διαρρηξις, the Breakfast, 2. Ἀειπνον, the Dinner. 3. Δειπνον, the Beaver. 4. Δεσπον, the Supper. Just so many *Athenians* has, but in this order, viz. 1. Ἀκράτεια. 2. Δειπνον. 3. Εσπείρεια, or (*Vesperna*) 4. Δεσπον. Others make but these three. 1. Ἀειπνον. 2. Δειπνον. 3. Δεσπον. You see that Δεσπον, is the last meale still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after Δεσπιδος supper time, makes it to be presently Bed time. To any of these meales if they came too late they called it *παραδυνατὶς*, or *παραφωγία*. Which they need not fear, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish-market, and therefore termes those, whose bellies

*Sympsc.* 4. had no eares, but for the Bell, καὶ δυνάει ὅς ἐστι δύνανται.

CAP. II.

*De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.*

THEIR merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feast. And thus to spend their money, was especially called ἀναίσκη, and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it selfe, by the name of a ἥκη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministering to the gods at a feast; and from whence ἐφέεθ came to be used for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three <sup>b</sup> kinds, 1. Ἐξυθ, 2. Γάμοθ, 3. Ἐιλασίην. Ἐξυθ, otherwise called ε συμβολῇ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἦγεν ἃ χαλαρόλῃς ἃ ἐκτὸς πολλῶν τιγῶν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his *part*, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his *parue*, or his *earnest* with the master of the feast. The earnest was commonly a ring, as *Terence* saies, *duti annuli, locus, tempus constitutum*. And sometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feast, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to sell, or do what he would with it. The reason why it was not so costly, and those that were at it, did eat so sparingly, ὡς ἀν' ἰδιωτισίης d ἕκασθ, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called ἀντίδοιτοι c *Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting χατέβολον, from joining as we say, or *clubbing*, or casting every one his *lot* into one purse, χαλῶμεν χαλαρόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδωσις δαπάνην συμπόσιον, saies *Tzetzes* upon f *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ πωλείθ d εἴρων, from πείρειν, because the charges came scattered, or sown by severall hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly i θίασος (they say) has been used for the same, θιαπῶται for the company.

Of this way of Feasting, you have a brieve and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

a Schol. in *Aristi. Vesp.*  
b *Eustathius* in *Hom.*  
c *Aristoph.* c Schol.

d ἔ. *ibid.*

e *Festus*.

f L. 2.]

*Athen. l. 8.*

Μηδὲ παυζεῖν δαισὶς δ' ἀπέμειλ' ἔθ'  
 Ἐκ κοινῷ πείσῃ ὃ χεῖς δαπατῇ τ' ἐλιγίστην.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there  
 The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very wedding dinner, in the manner of an ἔργον: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be δίκοςτον, (as Plutarch calls the soldier that goes a warfare at his own cost.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named πανδαισία, for that is either when there is meate of all sorts, or when it is brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίς (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly παντελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν the lapping and tipling in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in companies; ἔτι καὶ εἶλας. ἢ ὅμῃ εἰλέμεται ἔπειτα, or, 3. From εἶλαι, the vertigines or rounds used in dances \* ὕπερβος εἶλαι. The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπισταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίπιδες, unless it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of Cornelius Nepos, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte adium, qua gynaecitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione connexus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them: And to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an ἐνὸπλις too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀσώτων or intemperate; he was to be punished by the Areopagus. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μικροεργίτες, and

a InCross.

\* Schol. in Ari-  
 stoph. Pace.

\* Pindar.

and *συλλυτρωμας*, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figures, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (*σιμὸν καὶ ἡ μαγειρικὴ*), it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a piece of the victime.

— καὶ τὸ δ' ὅσῃς  
Ταῖς Νύμφαις. Μόρσωνι καλὸν χάρις αὐτῆς πέμψον.

— as soon as you  
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsen* too.

C A P. III.

*De more salutandi, Symposiarcha, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.*

WHEN the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them; and such a kisse as this they called *χρῆμα ἀποτ*. The fashion of kissing the lips was but of latter daies, and *osculum* may be *osculans* upon any thing so it be from the *mouth*. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body: as *Xanthus* desired to do to *Ian*.

ὅς τις χερσὶς εἰλημέ μοι εὖς, σωματός τ' ἀμφὶ πύχαι. *Eurip. Ion. v. 578.*  
Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the \* Scholy) the word *ἀπιδου* used to signify to *Salute*, does properly signify to *embrace*, as being derived

+ On *Aristoph.*  
*Plut.*

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαν ἀπιδεῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὃ ἔπειν. The compellation to such as they respected was usually ἡμε, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather then κύεα, *Domine*, or *Master*.

— ὅς ἐλυσχίσει ἡμῖν χαίρει.

Eurip. in  
Suppl.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the household stufte, and the like, according to *his* instructions in a *Aristophanes*.

Ἐπει τ' ἐπαίνεσιν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων  
Ὀεφύω θέσται —

a Vesp.

b Pollux, l. 2.  
c. 1.

The δειπνοκλύτωρ, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for Συμ-ποσίωρ & the Master, was many times no more then a Master-Steward, or b συμποσίω ἐπιμελητής the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collocation) presently had his χαίμαλιδον brought him in by the Cook i. e. a *note* containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modipe- rator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be βασιλῆος King: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes proved too tyrannicall: as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ χα-ταχεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν to take the drink in his mouth, or have it sling in his face.

C. 8.

c Athenaur.  
ON

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincence and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sence of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the myrrh, (ἐσθλὰν ἐστᾶν for c *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *Angry noses* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

— ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

The



The Guests before they sate down, used to Crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, for so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink. — *εἶπον δ' κεῖται μυρσίνῃσι καλῶσις.* bound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to secure it from a king, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein; for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

*Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto,*

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to restrain the heat of the Wine. Neither did they crown their heads only, but anoint them too, as if he had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so saies he in *Vespis*

— *γυμνασικῶς*

*Ἵγερὸν χύτλασεν σιαυτὸν.*

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

— *habent uncta mollia fersa coma.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether; or to open the pores, and let them out as soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the Egyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow near it; which antipathy (say they) has been in it, ever since \* *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenness, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggess, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*. so called quasi *καρμυγλαν*, from *κρόει*, or *Pupille* the Apples, or the Babies (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat, that before, had a peculiar name of *ὑδα; χύ; χυεῖς*: the other they call *συνίπασθαι*.

P p

Their

*κατατίχον-  
τες τὸ κεῖται-  
ον.* Saies  
the Scholi-  
ast upon  
*Aristoph.* in  
*Avib.*

\* *χω.* On  
*Aristoph.* in  
*Equit. AÆ.*  
1. Sc. 3.



a Po<sup>l</sup>.1.6.c 2. Their posture at eating was lying upon *κλίναι* beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a *ψαθ* a mat close by, which had covered clothes and all to sleep upon. Those *κλίναι*, were usually covered with skinnies: according to that in the b Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

b Aristoph. in Eq.

\*Ρέγχι μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύροις ὕπνισθ.

i. Il. 10.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such Achilles his Embassadors are entertained in c Homer,

τάπησι τε πορφυρεούσι

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbows, and therefore Silemus, in Euripides, bids Cyclops (when they sat at meat upon the ground) *Θεὸς δ' ἐν ἀγκῶνα ἐγυῖσθαι*, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a *σπύς*, or a foot-stool: such a one as Juno would bestow upon Somnus for the same use.

Τῶ κ' ὀπίσθους λε παρὲς πόδας εἰλαπινάξων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespa*, asking how he should sit, was bid *γόνι' ἐκτείνειν*, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unless the man were of a higher stomach, then he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three legs, and an *ἐπίθημα* upon it, called *ἄλμ* (in imitation of the *Tripus* at Delphos) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivill or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sat at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it is holy and consecrated to Jupiter *οἶλμ*, and *ἔινμ*. Which gave occasion to that expression of Demostheres *πῦ δ' ἄλμ; πῦ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ πῦ συνδαι*; And to Juvenals *reverentia mensæ*. There c first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his son, and served him up in the dish.

EP. 57.  
d Π *ἄλμ*.  
Sat. 2.

Fau. in Phœb.

## CAP. IV.

## De Cibo &amp; Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were *βαλάνιστοι*, people employed of purpose to gather them. There was no *cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of later dayes, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food \* *A. Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of Oaken boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit*. In remembrance of their oaken diet. After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corne was the first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as *b. Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit*. Their way of using corne at first, before that Mills came up (*ἀμύλας*, said to be first invented by *Mylas*) was to roste it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to beat it, and knead it into hard lumps or loaves. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *pinsores*, *bakers*. We read of *ὑγρὰ* parched stufte among the Israelites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usuall dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenaus* with little paine, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beate, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*: and thought that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

L. 5. c. 6.

a Artemidor.

J. 1. c. 71.

b. 1. N. Aug. c. 24.

Serv. ad Æn.

1.

2 Sam. c. 17.

v. 38.

In Trachin.

which all the *sences* had their *life*. Nay *ἰχθυόων* the *braine* might not be in their mouthes to *speak* it, as well as to *eate* it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the *braine white marrow of his head*.

Κόμης ἢ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκράντο μέσῃ

κεφαλῇ—

*Hecuba* in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it *ὁσίῳ βαλόντων φόβῳ*, adding withall *ἴν' αἰετὰ μὴ λόβῳ* with reverence be it spoken.

But as for the Entralls, *ἀνὰ ἥλας*, no dish so common as that: inasmuch that you should have some covetous fellows make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly *ἕλεον*, or *μαγεικὸν τεμπέλιον*. The meat was served up in dishes of wood: or of brasle (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke*, which they had at fests during meale time, was usually wine mingled with water to allay the strength of it. And this mixture they say was the invention of *Amphyzion* (him whom they report to have first inttituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphytyonicum*) but I have another story for you from \* *Athenaus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Vines from the *Red-sea* into *Greece*; the people came presently flocking to the Sea side, and fell so immoderately to the liquor, that some became dead-drunk, and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned againe, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, *οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ ποτὶ ἔργον ἀπώλαυνον*, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the reason that at the first bringing in of the *καρμασίνον*, or mixed.

\* L. 15.

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember *Δία Σοτήρα*, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the mixture. To which they added the health called *Δίδε Ολυμπόν*, if the feast were a *victors* feast; and *Ὠγαίνε γάμος*, if it were at a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to *Jupiter Servator*

— καὶ Δίδε σωτήρ

Σπονδὴ τεῖτε κρατῆς.

Presently after meale came in *ἄκρατον* the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) *πρόπιμα*, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first *tast* before they went to eating used to be. The great Crater being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the good genius (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum not Charitatis*, but *ἀγαθὸν δαίμων*: and so to drinke it *ἐπιποθεῖν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα*, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering, as he saies *Σπονδῶν λάβετε, καὶ σπῆσιν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα*. And many times they prayed too, crying out *ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθὸν*. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets *ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα* for *ὀλιγοποσιὰν*, little drinkers, The last health of all, which they dranke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

*Aristoph. in :*  
*Eq.*

\* *In Vesp.*

— Ἀργυρόβουτη

Οἱ πῦμα τῶ σπίνδεσκον.

for that was the reason. (saies *Athenais*) *δοκῆ γὰρ ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προσέτις ἴδ*. Yet some say it was *Δίδε τάλειν. Ασχός*, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinn of a Boare. And therefore in *Lyssistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of *Κάπρον*, and the Wine *αἶμα* blood, and the pouring it out *σφάγια* slaughter, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it *φιλανθροσύνη*, or *φιλανθροσύνη* a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions *Δεξιόσους*, takings, or pledgings: according to that

— χρυσίῳσι δαπάνῃ  
 δαδίχαρ' ἀλλήλους —

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (ἰωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Caramite*) he drank part himself, and bestowed the rest upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would sit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himself waking till morning, had a *πυγμαῖς*, a cake made of flower and honey for his labour, just as the women use to have in the *Thesmophoria*. In such mirth as these, they were wont to have *γελῶς* *rid-dles* proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unless he had leave, (perhaps it was unless he *took* his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speake enough of their *κῆλας*, but I think a little as sufficient, and that I have done already.

No v the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls horns, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, saies the Scholiast upon *N-cander*, εἰς τὸ κέρας. Insomuch that the word *κεῖρας*, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from *κέρας* these *horns*. Scilicet, Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with *Bull-hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture all Bull, which occasioned some to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reason of those phincies was (saies the Scholiast) διὰ τὸ ταυροειδὲς ὅν τινοντων, ὅς τις τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἰχμὸν for the strange (saies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of those that use his liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immitti cornua curia bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of horns, and came to their cannes, which they seem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his sake too, no question, to whom the wood be-

*Eurip. Alc. v.* (longs)  
 755.

Ποτῆρ δ' ἐν χείρει κίστην λαβῶν.

CAP.

CAP. V.

*De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.*

FOR their behaviour at table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivill in any, but a Gentleman (as we say in the Univerſity, that nothing is fresh in a Senator) and to him it was a glory ἀνμαρτυρία, ſaies *Stobæus*, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clare excreare*; as it is among us for great men to ſit and eat careleſſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *sordid* thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Hefiod* (as tis thought) long ſince abominated the incivility, or what ſhall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἐπὶ παντόχοιο θεῶν ἀτὶ δαυτὶ θαλάσῃ

Λῶον ἐπὶ κλαυθῇ τήμων ἄιδωνι σιδήρῃ

Nor from the five-branc'd-green do with a knife

At feasting cut the witherd for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφοντά, choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liked beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat baſe: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very high feaſt indeed, and open houſe. Thoſe boyes or ſervants were commonly *Black moores*; after the faſhion of the Romans,

— tibi pocula cursor

*Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus offesa Mauri.*

Your *peel'd* portions, which we read of, were another thing: as a piece of the Viſtme at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choicest diſhes at a feaſt, ſent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπιμύθε τις σιτυμεῖο τῶντι χεῖρα

ἔκ τ' ἰάμων.

And



And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembering their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by *Nehemiah*) used to send *מנות* portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared. When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tangham canis vivens e magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from *ἀπομάγειν* to wipe; such a think as their Cooks *σαῖς* or *χειρμακτερ*, a piece of course bread, which they had for the same use.

The desert consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of junkets. they called this service, by the severall names of *βύτικα, τραγάματα, ἐπιφορήματα, ἐπιτραπέζια, ἐπιδέρματα, μεταδέρματα, Ε-pidoria mensæ*. And now to crowne all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls *καὶ ἀνδρῶν δαιτὶς*, (usually accompanied with *ἀρχομήματα*, merry songs, and tales) because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

## CAP. VI.

*De cantu Conviviali & Scolijs.*

Although *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a Feast: and *Enripides* say, it were better used at a Funeral, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himselfe) commending, and *Pheimus* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick (whereas at Meale-time lesse cupps would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (*κρατία*) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Enripides*.



Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔς κρατῆρά τε  
 Κανόν, γέρον ἔλεξεν, ἀφαιρᾶζεν χρεῶν  
 Οἰσηθ' οὐκ οὐκ σμικρὰ, μαλακὰ εἰσφέρειν.

In Ion. v.

The song most common among them was *Harmodius*: so called (just as *Hymeneus* is from a man of the same name, and as we call our songs *Chloris* and the like) because it was sung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicides*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratida*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leana* (as *beastly* a name as *Lupa*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was racked by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλτατ' Ἀρμόδιε, ἔποι πρὶν νῦν, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Acharnenses*, and his *Vespe*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a song to the praise of *Admetus*, (for most of their songs, as well as those of the *Romans*, tended to the praise of one famous worthy or other.) It began thus, Ἀδ- μέτ'ε λόγον ὃ ἔταυρε μαθὼν, τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶλεν, ἦν δ' ἡλῶν δ' ἀπὶ χε- &c. where you may observe the opposing ἀγαθὸν to ἡλῶν. For so you shall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour* and *fortitude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authours, under the name of *Σκόλια*. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against riches.

Ὀφελος ὃ πρὸς πᾶσι  
 Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἡπείρῃ  
 Φερνύμεναι  
 Ἀλλὰ τάρταρον τε ναῖον κ' ἀχάρεντα  
 Διῶσέ γ' ὅπαντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακῷ.

Vid. x. in  
 Aristoph.  
 Ran.

Those kind of songs which they called *Σκόλια*, were first in-vented by one *Terpander*. They were so called either first \* *Plutarch. de*

Q q

διὰ τούτ.

διὰ τὴν ἴσην ἢ κατὰ ὁμοιοτητα (saies the Scholiast upon *Rane*,) from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuous* disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (sies

\* Schol. in *Ran*.

\* *Dicaearchus* περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγῶνων ) three waies of singing songs at such meetings, the first *ὑπὸ πάντων*, by all together. the 2. *ἑκάστην*, by one after another in order as thay saie, the 3. one after another, but *ἑκαλλάξ*, not in order, and *ὑπὸ συνειρημένους*, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to chuse. I say to chuse; for in singing a *Scholium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scholied* first, took him a Mirtle rod, called *αἶσχος* from *αἶσος* and *ἔχων*, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus*, (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of *ῥαψῳδία*, or *ῥαβδωδία*, or *σχοδία*, from the *σχοι*, or the rods, as being *apud virga*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have capt the rest, had his *ἀδελφόν* (as they called it) i. e. a cup, or some such thing for his reward. Unlesse they sung some of *Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrell*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called *ἀδελφοὶ* as well as *Homerists*. Others say it was the custome presently after taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) viz. because the eye, and the understanding of those that sung, were by over-strong drinke become *σκολιῶς*, or *ἀνισορροῦντες*, *distorted*,

*Eustath. ll. 1.*

*α. Aristoph.*  
*in Nub.*

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (ὁμιῶντες ὁρθῶν, & ὁρθῶς φρεσίν, right eyes, and a right mind, are put a together in the Poet.)

4. The song was called Σχόλιον, (saies the Scholiast) by the Figure Antiphrasis, because it was least difficult of any, and μέλας & ὀλιγόστιχον, consisting of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὰ γὰρ ὀρθῶς ὅτι τὸ εὐφημῶταρον μεταλαβόντες, ὃ μὲν τὸ καλῶς, because that Figure Antiphrasis, is alwayes by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. Origen (they say) wrote a Poëm, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of Scolia. c Pericles is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of Scolies. I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

a Sophocles Oed. Tyr.  
b In Ranis.

Τὸ Σχόλιον, is not opposed (what ever it may seeme to be) to that which they call τὸ ὁρθῶν μέλας (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the Scolies could not) so called, not because it was sung right along, and in order: but either because the persons sung ὁρθῶς, that is, (as Suidas expounds it) ἀλτὰ & ἐρετῶνᾶ voce, with a long blast, (like the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.) or because it was sung ἁρμονίᾳ ὁρθῶν, which I know not what way it was, but that Herodotus saies Arion plaid after that way upon the ship, and Eustathius and Suidas, say that Timotheus playing after that manner to Alexander τοσούτου ἄρτι & ἐκινῶν &c. So moved his spirit, that he leapt immediately to his armes and took them up to fight. Instead of Scolies, sometimes you should have whole Comedies acted, and then none so soon as Menander's.

a X. a. 1. in Ran.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their squara, oscilla, or officula, like those which they use at Rome at the feast Sigillaria, or such as d Augustus is said to have plaid with (talus aut officulis ludebat cum pueris) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes

Suet. c. 8. 3.

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, viz. to be merry therefore while he might.

*Hen, hen nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?*

*Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.*

*Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.*

And just so the Egyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one *μῖνε καὶ τίμενε, καὶ σὺ σὺν δαπνὴν τοῦτον*, to eat and drink, for to morrow he should die.

*Herod. l. 2.*

# C. A. P. VII.

## De Peregrinis excipiendis.

**A** Stranger, whether you take it for a Guest or for an Alien, so it were not a god, was alwaies had in so religious esteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀπόστολον καὶ ἐνταυτῇ δουλοῦν αὐτὸν ὅς ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ ἔξω, that (as the Scholie saith upon \* *Euripides*) if anyone wronged a stranger, he was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himself in another place.

— Let go the strangers hands,

Which being sacred may not be in bands.

*In Taur. v.*  
468.

And good reason, for — *καὶ δὲ δὲ δὲ αἰσὶν ἀπαρτεῖ*

*Ξένους* — all strangers have *Jupiter's* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as *ἐννομήτιον*. Now this esteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of *Zēd's* ἔξω, or *ἔνθεον*, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for \* *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitii Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastias*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *Ξένου δὲ δὲ δὲ*

\* *L. 10. Fab. 6.*

ἵμαλάς, as if he had cared more for them than other people.  
*Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquantur.*

*Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them τὸ ξένος μὴ ἀδικεῖν, not to wrong a stranger. And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*.

*Xenoph. l. 3.*  
*Απομν.*

*L. de Offic.*

If a stranger had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to do it themselves) there were ἀποστάται, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as ἐσθῆνοι to entertain them. Unless you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away: but for ξένοι, that is *μετοικοι*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their μισθόν, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the Women \* six Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally slaves, as not reckoning them cleane come, and true Citizens, any more then \* *Aristotle*; but only (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἀλυσσέσθαι ἀστών, the out-casts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themselves (as evill beasts as they were) seem to have had humanity enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their ξενιστὰς τραπέζας, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

\* *Isæus contr.*  
*Elpagor.*

\* *L. 3. Polit.*

*Athenaus.*

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedæmonians* heare but ill for their *Ξηνασία*, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain dayes, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of *Δειφροόξενος*. Nay it is said how that they never made any *λεωσπερίους*, (as they called it) free of their City, but only two, viz. *Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But still I hope, their *Ξένοι* strangers, were all one with *ἑ βάρβαροι* Barbarians, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the nature of (as we usually take it) *policy* as it is inconsistent with the name of *πολιτικὸν*, to care most for ones private good.

## CAP. VIII.

*De hospitibus excipiendis.*

**I**F the Athenians were so kind τοῖς ξένοις, to every stranger, properly so called: what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Those had their ἀπράξαλον, or σύμβολον, or *tesseram hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in currefy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τι πῶποτε σύμβολ' ὃ δὲ δέσσει σ' εἶ.

So farre were the *Ξενοδοχοί*, those that entertained guests (you may call them *Ξένους* too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a retorne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse then his life. Who though he were forwarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυθεὶς, being ashamed (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitio sô pudore*) οὐκ ἀπὸ φόβου ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to be-  
ware



ware of one that was his friend and guest too (as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining a stranger was this. As soon as ever they saw him, α δῖπρον ἐπαγγέλλοντο περὶ πρῶτον, the first care a Pindar. they had, was to have somewhat for him to eat. Egredien- tem illico ἐ νὰ νηὶ adduxit ad cœnam, saies b Terence. When he came to the doore (as some say) they both joyned feet on the threshold, and there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur venebant ad hospitium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium. And therefore hospes is said to be derived from hospitium, or ostium a doore. and pes a foot. When he came in, they called for the Strangers bottle (as he saies in c E- lestra, ἀσκήνδ' ἐν φέρῳ ξένου) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saith Athenæus,) ὅς τις ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἐν μέλει, as giving him honour, because he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine, rather then any other liquor (saies the same Author) because they took it to be, ἀλυσκόν τι περὶ φιλίας, Idem. μεγαδραμῆον τιώ ψυχῷ &c. Powerfull to warme the affection too, as well as the stomach. Ibid.

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: inti- mating their friendship must be so seasoned with good carri- age, as it might keep long and sweet. All the time of his being in the house, this respect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay, and to bring him Water in a Basin, and wash his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by severall pla- ces in Homer both observed and approved by Athenæus, who makes it to be an ancient custome ποῖν Ὀμηρὸς ἢ τὰς κόρας L. 1. ἢ τὰς γυναῖκες λούουσιν τοὺς ξένους: ἀρχαῖον ἢ τὸν ἱερεῖα (saith he) 2. They allotted ξένωνας, Chambers a part from the rest, of purpose for strangers. Which puts me in mind of Admetus in the d Poets Alcestis, who when Hercules coming to his house in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted αἰχμήν, so unfit

unfit v. 536.



was fit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone againe, replied; no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

Χαῖτε ξένους ἐσὶν, οἷς σ' εἰσάξουσιν. For we have  
Chambers on the other side of the house which we keep only for stran-  
gers, and you shall be there.

3ly, When they sat at Meales, they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which Orestes had at his being at Athens.

Enrip. Elestr.  
v. 849.

— ξένια μοι ὀτρύνει δ' μοι  
Πάρεσθον οἶκον. —

Lastly they had τὰς κεκρίδας places allowed them at the shewes, instituted by Sphrymachus. Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the Genius of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaq; oscula terra  
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq; saluat.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine service, τῶν ἐμπροσθεν θεῶν unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as Alexander did at his being at Troy: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεῶν τῶν οἴκου (as Hercules calls them) to the Penates, the gods of the house. In like manner, at his going out of the Country, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the Genius: as Ovid saies,

Met. l. 13.

— dant oscula terra Troades —

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detain him. Menelaus accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρέόντα φιλεῖν ἐδιδόντα δ' ἀμειβέσθαι.

And parting they usually gave ξενίῃα δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance: or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there

was

was *ma'abazot*, a common Hospital maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complain to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murderer or such like person, they might not by any means *ma'abazot* (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *agum & igum* in *urdichum*.

## C A P. IX.

*De Pauperibus sublevandis.*

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. And certainly if they intended no more then the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; of whom *Iſocrates* ſaies in his *Areopag. τὸ πόλις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν*, that he is a diſparagement to the City wherein he lives. To prevent the diſgrace, every *εὐνομία* or Society, kept a poor-mans box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of ſuch as came to poverty, and the ranſome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they uſed *εὐνομίαν εὐνομίαν*, conferre *erantum* (as *Plautus* ſaies *erantum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of *εὐνομία* or *εὐνομίαν πληρωταί*. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was ſaid *συλλέγειν* or *κομίζεσθαι* *εὐνομίαν*, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas* l. 2. c. 5.) where he makes this inſtance of a thing *καὶ τὸ πῶς*, that happened by chance; if a creditor, *ἐν τῷ ὅτι ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἥλθεν ἀν κομίζομεν* *εὐνομίαν*, with his Bond in his hand ſhould come to his debtor for money, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the pariſh (as we ſay) for a collection. Such another contribution was that which they called *εὐνομίαν παππῶν*, appointed by *Aristides* for thoſe that aſſiſted him in the Warre againſt the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lyſiſtrate*. If there hapned any controver-

\* That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuter. 15. 14. So some render.  
כִּן אֶפֶס כִּי לֹא  
אֶכְיוֹן יִהְיֶה

fy in this businesse, there were *Νῦντα ἱερουργία*, Lawes and Writs made for the purpose.

\* *L. 9. de Leg.* Plato speaks very well of this \* custome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his answer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amiseni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tali Collationi &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *erannus*, for their reliefe. For the richer sort were wont every new moon, to make a great feast of Bread, and other course fare for this purpose. Which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them to call every course beggerly feast, by the name of *Hecates cena*. But as bad as the fare was, the person in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he—*Ἰδὲ τὸ Ἐχάτης ἔχει σῶστον πνικτὸν*

*ἢ εἰτὶ τὸ πλεῖον, εἴτε τὸ πτωχὸν βέλγον &c.*

Aske *Hecate* and she will tell which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for places at the *Playes* and *Shewes*.

SECT.



## S E C T. III.

## De Ritibus Bellicis.

## CAP. I.

## De Militibus.

**H**AVING spoken of the customs used by the Athenians amongst *themselves*, it will be fitting in the next place to say something of those which they used towards their *enemies*; and after that of those towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike provision which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Lifted inter *Ephēbos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς πεπολοῖς (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must πεπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρεῖα stand sentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works and the like: according to that of \* *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Pirao abierit, nam ibi custos publicè est nunc*. The first of the two years they kept within the City, but the second they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a shield, and a Speare, and a χαλμῆς

Harpor.

\* In Eunuchs.

Vipian. ad O-  
lymp.

A istot. de  
R. p. Ath.

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *ἀσπλῆτοι*, without the Liberties. But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the *ἑπώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, *ὁ δ' εἶνα ἀπὸ τέτοιο ἐπώνυμου*. Such a one in pay ever since such a one was *Ἀρκεὺς Ερπονίου*: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these *ἑπώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *ἑπώνυμοι λέξεως*, from the *λεξιαρχικὸν χαρμῶνιστον*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old; and sometimes *ἑπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν*, because they thus kept a note of every mans age: in opposition to *ἑπώνυμοι ἡσ φυλῶν*, who were but to keep a note of their Tribes. Now some there were that were exempted, and some that were excluded from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders *οἱ τὸ πλῶν πειδυμένοι*, who therefore had the priviledge *τὴ ἀτελεία*: or the *χορηγαί*. i. e. *οἱ τῶν δυνάμεων χορηγῆται*. Bacchus his *Salii*, or dancing Priests. The latter were *οἱ δούλοι* slaves, and all such proletarians People who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐν χαταλόγῳ εἰσθῆναι*, which the others had. For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Ἀθηνᾶς* *ἐν περὶ τὸν ναὸν*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχος*, or Generall (as many as he *ἐπέλεξεν* made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Dilectus*) in the *χατάλογος*, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another *πίναξ* or Table-book, for such as were *ἑμερῆσι* out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the Generall, they were to be listed again by the under Officer, the *ἐπαυτάς*, or the foot by the *πυλάρχους*, and the Horse-men by the *ἵππάρχους*. The *ἐπαυτάς* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *βαρυπῆν ὅπλοις*, and were *gravis armati* *milites*, with their wide Shields and long Spears. *αὐτοὶ*  
Levis

*Levis armatura milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And γλυπταὶ, a middle sort between both, with their μάται or ἀσπίδες, narrow Shields, and short Spears. Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be δυνατοὶ τοῖς χεῖμασι καὶ ποσσὶν (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse*, and therefore were to be examined first by the Senate of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες *skittish*, or φορόδεις (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-prooffe*. And this they did τῷ κώδωνι ἢ ψῆφῳ, with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπαλεῖν *Walke the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζεν.

Κωδωνοφορεῖται, πηλᾶχθ

Φυλακεὶ καὶ δεσφῶν

Insomuch that Κωδωνίζεν, is used for the same with Πειράζειν, to try, or prove (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ἐπὶ ποιῶν, κωδωνίσω) and κωδωνίσον for ἀπειράσον *intentatum*. (As in *Lysistratæ*, καὶ πειράσειε πύλας ἐλέγχες ὡς αἰγὸν ἀκωδωνίσον ἴδαν τὸ τοῦτο πειγνυμὴν δύνανται.) If a Horse had been τετυμμένον *worne and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a Τελῶ (a wheel I think) and gave him his τυσίππιον; for so they called both the mark and the discharge it self: whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἔγω μοι ὀφθαλμοῖς τυσίππιον, to give a man his τυσίππιον, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the Kings, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israeliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias currum igneo, & equis igneis sit ad caelestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt vicinâ decepti nominis Sapis hic transitum per cælos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum cõmutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because

Helieh.



*lias* once was carried up to Heaven with Horses, therefore *Helios* or the Sun, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

I. Poll. l. 8.  
c. 10.

The horse-men, first, some were *διδύχαι*, that had two *waies* to fight, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2. Some were *ἵππαρχοι*, that had two Horses, one to ride upon, and the other to lead from *ἄλογη*. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would *πομπεύειν*, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a *ξυς*, as it is in these verses.

Ὅταν οὐ μέγας ὦν ἄρμ' ἐλάυνης ἀπὸς πόλιν

Ὡσπερ Μεγακλῆς ξυσίδ' ἔχον.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach horse, or sit in the chaire. *Antige* then were called *ἵππαις*, and were better then *ᾠδοβάται*, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every *ταυγεῖα* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *εἰσρητῆς*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often changed, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be *ἀέρος διαίτης*, dainty and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, *ἵνα μὴ παρέχων ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀντιλήψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις*, that the enemy might have no hold-fast, saies *Plutarch* in his *Thesens*, where he saies also that the fashion



fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called  
Θησεύς.

CAP. II.

*De Armis quibus vim profulsabant.*

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies *a Pausanias*: *a In Laconi*; but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

Χαλκῷ δ' οἰεάζοντο, μέλαι δ' ἐκ ἔσχα σίδνευ.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of *Maile*. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcaeus*, *Καρικὸς λίσσος*. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastend they called *σφήκωμα*, and to fasten it *σφηκῶσαι*.

*Homer.*

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ δρυῖν ἐσφηκόντο.

The *Crest* was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies *b Εὐριπίδης*, and *quadruple*, saies *c Apollonius*.

*In Orest.*  
*c. L. 2.*

Τετραπύρα δ' οὐλοῖσι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπτο πῆληξ.

The *Stuffe* whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse-taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἰππεύς*, and *ἰππόκομος* *πυρράλεια* in *d Theocritus*; and that it is said *e ἡριπόρην* when the haire fell off. The other parts of the *Helmet* bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as *ὀφρύς* the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γυνῶνον. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of severall kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

*Æn. 7.*

— *flexunt ὃς Salignas*

*Umbonum crates* —

(but then they *Hesych.*

called it *ἰστάρ*) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid

laid one upon the other. Quid scies Ajax had *Septemplexium clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

— & as & proxima rumpit

*Terga novena bonis, decimo tamen orbe morantem est.*

a Troad. v.  
1336.

And therefore in a *Euripides* it is called χαλκόντις ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the severall parts of it you may have in *I Pollux L. 1. c. 10*. Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having πύργους ornaments to be seen, and πύργωματα little holes to see others by, set in the ἴσος, or the border. And 2ly, For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called ἄσπρον, or πύργωξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it, χερσὶν ὄχανον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the grave along with him. The *Armes*, (πρόσθημα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the bearer. *Ulysses* had his ἀλφειόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Roost-cock* the *avant coqueru* to the *Summe*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the most part, used to beare Eagles, ἀσπίδων ἐπὶ πτερύγεσσι χρυσοῖσι τοῦ χαλκὸς ἀσπίδος. To the Arms, they added verses in commendation of the prowesse of the Person, by which he deserved those Arms, and the name of the maker; such as *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The case or *Theca* wherein the shield was put, they called ὄχυμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in

*Sirabo l. 14.*

\* *Aristoph. in Ran.*

In *Eliatr.*

*Ent. v. 627.*

*Κάλλιμα τεύχε' ἐν χαλοῖσι πύργωσιν*

*L. 21 c. 14.*

*Rhodiginus* saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be ominous: for if it happened

pend to strike their knees, they counted it lucky : but if they struck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill-signe. The most famous shield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of Jupiter Aegiochus, named *Αἰγίς*, because he covered it with the skin of his nurse the goat called *Amalthea*, this shield he bestowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the Stone-making or astonishing head of *Medusa*. Whether that *Scutum sacrum* which *Alexander* is said to have stolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the same with this or no, I know not. Their shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was also for the other sorts of armes) they suffered not to have their *πόρπαξ* *handles*, (or some such necessary appurtenance) that so in case there should be any insurrection, they might be the lesse ready for use; which was the cause why he in the Poet cryed out so as he did, when he saw it otherwise.

Οἱ μοι πᾶς ἔχουσι καὶ πόρπαξ.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐ καὶ ἔχουσιν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῆμον ἐκ περτοῖας

ταῦτα ἔαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατιθῆναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three sorts, the first *ζῶμα*, which reached from the navell to the knees : the second *ἡμιστεῖνον*, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyanus* reports to have bin much used by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third *στέγξ*, which reached from the shoulders to the navell, so called ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγον ὡρεῖν, from preserving the heart, *Etymol.* and the brest : from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrowes the word *στερήξασθαι*, for to signify to be well nigh drunk, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed against the cold) and *ἀκροστεγέας*, to signifie *ἀκρομεθύς* drunk to the top. Now a *Thorax* was either *σαπὸς*, all of one piece, plaine like *σαπὸς κατὰ τὴν ῥεστα tunica* : or else *ἀλυσίδης*, with *chaines* or *plaits* of iron put between the leather (as it is in our *Coates of Maile*.) The *leather* I say, because it was usually made of a hide (το

σύνθετον) as the *Scuta* were,

— πρὸς δὲ δόρυ καὶ σκῆπη,

*Aristoph. in  
Pace.*

So they say that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dried and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

*Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco  
Pugnatori operit.*

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls *σалаμῆς*, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

*Aristoph. in  
Pace.*

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phænicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it?) *φοινικῆς*. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the Poet in *Acharnenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Μὴ ἐκαταξάινειν τ' ἀνδρα ὅσον εἰς φοινικῆς.

*Let's card him, and work him, and belabour him, till we make his skinne like a φοινικῆς.*

*Idem.  
Ibid.*

To carry their Provision in, every man had his *κύλιον*, or *κύλικλον* *σπατιωτικῶν* a kind of basket (*fiscinam*), made of Oziers (*πλέγμα*) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word *κύλιον*, to signifie such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word *κύλιον* *χεῖρας*, to signifie men that had a neck as long as that thing. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three dayes, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιπρῆν τὰ εἶσι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

*Those too often repeated orders for three dayes provision.*

C A P.

CAP. III.

*De armis quibus vim inferebant.*

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by *Homer* *παλαγγες*, according to that of *Horace*, Il. 4.

*Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus; atq; ita porro  
Pugnabant armis quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

But afterward they came to *Speares*, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν πῆξας εἰς ὁρῶν ἀπόντιον δὲ ἐν τῷ ποσειδάων δειδυμένον. Where *δειδυμένον*, some say signifies to worship (and so they say of the word *numera-*re, used by *Cicero* in his Book *De Nat. Deorum*. *Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Phe-*rans *Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his uncle *Poly-*phron with his *Speare*, he took it and crowned it with *Gar-*lands, and caused it to be adored by the name of *πυλῶν*. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by *Kings* instead of *Scepters*, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to have a place in the *Temple*: or else to have been dedicated to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of *πᾶν*, the proper word for *ἀπόντιον*) and to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the *Latines* especially; whence it came that *hasta mota*, *(shaking of the Speares)*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they slept in the field they fastened it ἐν σαρκοῦναι, which *Pollux* interprets, the butt-end of the *Speare*, made (it may be) with a *croffe* for the better hold-fast, *quasi sarcoῦναι* from *sarx*. But *Eustathi-*

us saith it was an iron with a sharpe taile like a snike, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the spear in, from whence *Lacerta* a Lizard, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden case, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

*Odysf. 1.*

Ἰγχεῖ μὲν ἱ ἔστιν ὄφρων ὀφει χίονα μακρόν  
Δυσσίδης ἔντοθεν ἐν ξύῳ ———

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

*Æn. 12.*

*Exin qua mediis ingenti admixa columne*

*Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.*

The custome first ἰγχεῖν to *vibrate* the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that ἰγχεῖν ; a *shake-speare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to signifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not : but it seems they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word ἰσπύλα, saies they made the strings of *Horses haire*. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, διὰ τελαμῶν by *belts*, or strings of leather, as they did the shields : and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

*Æ. on Il. γ.*  
*Hesiod.*

ὅμοιοι δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μάλα δρῦτον ἄρ' ἔκρετο.

What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Enripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the *defensive*: and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

#### CAP. IV.

*De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi stultos.*

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *propere sequi quæ pegeret inchoare*, beare a greater affection to *Peace* : as may appear in



in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *bearing* in no worse place then a *Temple*, and their *entertainment* in the *Pnyteum*. The usuall Ensigne carried by *æ. æg.* Greek Embassadors, was *κηρύκειον caduceus* a right staffe of *αργεῖον* wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) tis but *αρχαζέειν* my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two *δραχμαὶ* a day, which they usually called *τι πορεῖον*. If the Peace could not be kept, but they must needs have warre: yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let Loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the *signall* before a battle) thereby shewing them *μολύβδον αὐτῶν τὴν ἑστίαν ἔσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν*, that what was then a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *own* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the *Tragædian* makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of *ἡ πόλις τ'* Athens, upon the coming of *Euristhenes*. Then besides this, *ἐν ὅποις* after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Per-

*Ety.*

*æ. Homer in Batrachom.*

*Diogenian.*

*ἔσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι δεῶν. συνπολεῖται δ' αὖτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ Τεγπαῖα τ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ πόλεως σωτήρια. χρησμῶν καὶ ἀοιδῶν πάντας εἰς ἐν αἰτίαν ἡλεγε καὶ ἐβήλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα λόγια παλαιὰ τῇ καὶ τῇ σωτήρια.*

*fian*



sian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vows of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march *ἐν τοῖς πανσλήταις*, till the full of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march *ἐν τοῖς ἑβδόμοις*, till the seventh day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the new of the Moon. In Marching, the Generall used alwaies *ἔχεν τὸ κέρας δεξιόν*, to keep himself on the right horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (*οἱ ὀπλοῖται*) kept themselves *ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις*, in those parts, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called *σεβεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι*, and sometimes *περὶ σέλα*. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called *θύειν τὰ διαβαίεα*. No passing without a prayer,

*Hesiod. l. 2.*

*Festus.*

— *πρὶν γ' εὐχῇ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεα*.  
The Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Perennè auspicari*.

## CAP. V.

*De ritu Commitendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.*

*γ. In Eurip.  
Phæn.*

**W**Hen they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *villime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for *πυρρόβεσι ἀντὶ σαλπγκῶν*, instead of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellows whom they called *πυρρόβους*, that went before with *Torches*, and throwing them down in the midst between

between the two Armies, gave the signe.

*Prima manu vasilam de vertice Larissæo*

*Obrudit Bellona facem.*

*Statins Th. 4*

*Lycophron* in his ἱχθῆς ὃ πρῶτον, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πρῶτον, seem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this business they might do safely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόμενοι αὐτοῖς. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted sacred, \* ἐπεὶ οὗ θεοῦ: insomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, ἰδὲ \* γ. in Eurip. οὐ πρῶτον ὅτι ἐπὶ θεῷ. Those *Torches* *Euripides* in *Rhesus* calls πυρρῶδες λαμπήνας, where he saies that the *Achivi* avoided them, ἐσώζοντο ὅτι that is, refused to fight.

— πρὸς λαμπήνας ἐξήρδης κλύων.

Φδ' ἔην Ἀχαιῶς.

*Qui clatus es, audiens faces*

*Fugere Achivos.*

(better in my mind then

*Qui audiens ignis faces accensas adductus est, ut credat fugere*

*Ec.*) Nay, not only when they would signifie their intentions

to fight with the enemy, to the enemy himselfe: but also when

they would signifie his approach to others, to have their assistance,

they made use of *Torches* too, which they called Φρῦκ-

τις. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or

*Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or sticks,

that would quickly take fire, as our *Beacons* are. And they

had men still who did Φρυκλαρεῖν keep Φρυκλαρεῖας *Watches*, in the

\* Towers or Forts, as we do at the *Beacons*. If the enemy

came in the night, they fired the *Brands*, if he came by day,

they raised a smoke. But I must tell you, there were Φίλοι

Φρυκτοὶ *Torches* or *Brands*, to be lighted upon the approach of

their friends too: as well as πόλεμοι. But with this distinction,

that Φίλοι were held, or let lye still: but the πόλεμοι were

tossed and shaken to and fro.

But those *Torches* lasted not alwaies. For afterwards they

came to make use of *Trumpets*, according to that of *Æschylus*

Σελαργξ δ' αὖ τῷ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέλασεν.

\* γ. In *Homer*  
Il. σ.

\* κὶ Φρυκλαρεῖας ἐν πῶσι  
πύργους *Ar-*  
*istoph.* in  
*Avib.*

In *Persis.*

In-

In Phan.

α' ε' σ' δ' ε' i-  
σήμεν' ὅρδοι  
πυρρονικῇ  
Σάλπιγγι, ἣ  
σωπῆσαν ἀλ-  
λήλοισ μᾶ-  
χῳ. v. 330.  
b C. 6. 5.

In-or accendit still, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the Torches once in use. The first invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiast upon Euripides to the Tyrrheni, from whom it is conceived to have been first brought into Greece by one Archidas an assistant to the Heraclide, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place. α' πρῶτ' ὃ ἡ Ἀρχίδαος συμαρχὸν τοῖς Ἑρακλίδαις ἦν αὐτῷ πυρρονικῷ σάλπιγγα εἰς ἐκδασίαν. And therefore he calls the Trumpet πυρρονικῷ, viz. from the inventors; As the Poet himselfe had done before, both in his Phanissa, and his Heraclide: where he saies it was used when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded βῆδον a long blast, like that in the book of Judges (but of this word I have spoken before.) There was a time when shields did serve for Trumpets conchaes, sonantes: and then you might easily continue that riddle of Theognis.

Ἦδη γὰρ κέκληκε δαλάρσι' οἰκαδὲ νεκρῶς  
τεδνικῶς ζωῶ φειγρόμεν' ὅματι.

## CAP. VI.

De Scyale, de Militum pænis &amp; præmiis &amp; Sepulturâ.

c Ε' σ' α' κατὰ  
σεφῇ σείχενθ'  
ὁρῶ &c.  
Soph. Trach.  
%. In Ari-  
stoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorned with c Garlands. In the mean time those that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν ἡ ἀρχὴ δὲ εἴεν, ὁπνέουσιν ταῦταις, εἰν ἣ τὸ ναυτιον, ὁπ-  
τρέψαν. If it were god, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and stop it. For close conveying of the intelligence I suppose they had severall waies. Whether they made use of the Lacedemonians σκυτάλη, I know not. If you please, you may read the description thereof in A. Gellius at full: or in the Scholiast upon Aristophanes in his Aves. Where he saies, that they made them two staves or rods ἰσομήκους of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Gene-  
rall

nerall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of *σύντ* a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless it were rolled upon those staves, and the Parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he terms it or a humour like that of the English to vards the French.

Ἐλαχνομάειν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε.

Συντάλι ἰστέον.

If any one turned *αὐτομάτ*, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been *ἀσράδιστ*, and would not, or *δαλός* and could not fight for feare, or if *λελοιπώς τὴν τάξιν*, or *ῥήλασσε*, he had left his rank or thrown down his *Armes*, he was regifted, and delivered to the *Heliastra* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

Οὐχ ὅν τ' ἄνχ' ὦνδ' ἔλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two *ὄβολοι*, saies *Hesychius*: (but *one*, saies *Harporotation*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of five Hundred, whether they were *ἀδύνατοι*. Now *ἀδύνατοι* were *οἱ ἐν τῷ πεισῶν κακῶν κακῶν*, saies *Harporotation*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *μίαι*. Such as were *staine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treasure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a *πανοπία*, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, *ἀναμνήσκουσι τὰ τῶ πατρὸς ἐπιτεύματα*, to put them in mind of their fathers exploits, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also *περιδείας*, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon*-fight) the fa-

\* Vid. *supr.*  
*Æschines*  
*contra Ctesiph.*

*Enrip. Heracle.* v. 966.

*Vid. Supr.*

*Plato.*

shion was then to make a shield his *Beere*, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonians *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, *ἢ τὰν, ἢ δᾶτ' τὰν*, either do thou bring the shield home againe, or let the shield bring a thee; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometime, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*.

a *Arma su-*  
*perveheris*  
*quid, Thra-*  
*sibule, tua?*  
*Anson Epig.*

24.

Ἄλλ' ἀντὶ κλέρου, φειδόμεντε λαίων

Ἐν τῇ δ' ἀΐψαι παῖδα.

At the buriell, the rest of his company Marched in equi-  
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes, and throw-  
ing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the  
fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were  
allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home  
in the *Ceramics* all together. And then three dayes before  
the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall  
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood, and car-  
rying away each one their bones, put them in the ground  
with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech  
for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed  
to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the *δεσ*,  
and honoured with the name of *Cecropids*, Citizens of the true  
old blood: according to that

*Euripin*  
*Phæn.*  
*Ibid.*

Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι κεκοσμητὸς ἔσθαι ἄνθρωπον.

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the  
spoyle, were adorned with a golden *στέφανος*.

καὶ τίνες χρυσῶν στέφανον ὡς ὀρεῖς ἔχοντες  
λαβὼν ἐπερχοὺς πολυμίων σκυλιδώτων.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR memorialls of the victory, ἀνίσταντο ἑστία, they erected Trophies: (you may write ἑστία, if you had rather follow the most auncient, then that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually pillars of brasse, or stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes olive (τὰ ἑστία ἐκ ὕλης διπλασοὶ ἀνέδουσιν, saies Dionysius) and sometimes the trunk of an Oake.

α Οἱ δὲ πα-  
λαιοὶ Ἀττι-  
κοὶ ἑλαιο-  
σιν, οἱ δὲ νε-  
ώτεροι περ-  
ὶ περὶ τούτων.  
Plut. in  
Aristoph. Plut.

Quercusq; trophæis Cærua tremens

Those Pillars among them answered to the arcus triumphalis among the Latines. Only that might be overthrown; but these might neither be taken away, nor restored againe, if consumed with age or the like, ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἡ καταπολεῖν ἐπιδορθεῖν βεβαίως φιλαπὸχθονος, least they should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And therefore saies the same Author, οὐδὲ περ' ἑλλήνων δι' ἡλικυῶν σπουγγῆς ἑστίων ἐσθλῆμις, Those that made them Trophies of brasse, were looks upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty. Now upon the Trophie, they engraved an ἐπιγραμμα, declaring the cause of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: such a one as Othryades wrote with the blood of the Argivi. The like inscriptions many times were written upon other things. For Pausanias having conquered Mardonius at Plataeæ, did not only at Byzantium write it upon the Cup, which he consecrated to the gods of the place; (as Athenians reports to his dispraise for his arrogance) but also upon a tripod besides; which he caused to be made of Gold and sent to Delphos, with this inscription.

Plut. in  
Roman.

Stobæus de  
Fortuna.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων

Πρωσπίνης Φοῖβῳ μῦθ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Thucid. l. 1.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being displeased blotted it cleane

a Ἐλλήνων  
περμαχύν-  
τες Ἀθηναί-  
οι Μαραθῶνι  
ἔκλιναν.  
b pison.

cleane out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called a Ποικίλη.

In *Cicero's* b time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he saies, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophie over the *Lacedemonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amantus*;) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* Ἰπαιός (so called from causing the enemy στῆνθαι to turne their backs: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to stand to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἰδλός (as I told you before of χαλός) good or valiant *Jolans* erected.

Enrip. in  
Heracl. v.  
937.

In Odyss.

Βεβηκὺς Διὸς, ἑσπάρη χαλκὸν ἵπαιον.  
The Spoyles which they took (σῶλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, quasi ἀκροθίνια, saies *Enstatius* as if it were παρὰ τῇ σήμερι ἐν μέσῳ πολλὰς: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. ἀπὸ θινὸς ἀλίστορε ἀπαρχὰς ἀναπιδιμέναι ἐξ ἐμπορίας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θινὸς σωθῆναι, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who saies those ἀπαρχὰς, or the first fruits of the spoyles which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπ' αὐρῶν θινὸς, they skim'd away the *Creame* as I may say, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereunto *Megara* in *Enripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

Ἐξ ὧν ὁ νύμφας ἠκροθίνας ἔδωκεν.

The



The Arms which they took, *ἀνέδαντο* they hung up for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own house) as they did their *owne*, when they left the service, as Horace saies,

—*Veianius, armis*

*Herculis ad postem fixis, laetæ abditæ agro.*

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but wrote them *b* all. For that was the custome, *τὰ σκεῦλα τοῖς ἑ- παισίς ἐγγράφει* saies the Scholiast.

*τεῖπαι ἰδρύ-  
σται πανδ-  
ραν ἔχοντα  
πολεμίων--  
Eurip. He-  
racl. v. 786.*

*b In Phanis.  
Eur.*



S E C T.





## LIBER SEPTIMUS.

### SECT. I.

*De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.*



HERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seeme to have imitated; and so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldei* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Gallæi* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the honour or credit of Divination lesse than the use. For if we may believe a *Strabo*, *οἱ δὲ μάντις ἐλιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιῦναι*, many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings To a Persian King it was necessary, to any other convenient. *Amphilocthus*

*lochnus*, and *Mopsus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helennus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Aeschylus* has used *ιατρεῖς* a *Physitian*, and *μάντις* a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the *Pellilence*, to seek to *μαντικῇ* for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of *Dreames*, and *Enthysiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the *Socraticks*, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the *Peripateticks*. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called *μαντεία*: or from the *Gods*, properly called *χρησμός* an Oracle. According to that of the Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, *χρησμός* ἢ ὁ θεὸς φωνή, *μαντεία* ἢ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *μαντεία* seems to be the *genus*, and *χρησμός* the *species*. The same Prophecy which *Tyr.* when it was spoken by a god, was a *χρησμός*, when it was delivered by *men*, was *μαντεία*. In the *Oracles* the word was *Ennius*. *Fari* (neque me *Apollo* fatis *landis* dementem invitam ciet) where as in the other it could be but *præsagire* at the wisett. The faculty in the first ἢ *μαντικῇ* (as we now called it, *ἀπὸ μεγάλων τῶν τιμωμένων*) or ἢ *μανικῇ* as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, *ἐπὶ τῷ μαντικῷ πολλὴ μαντικὴ ἔχει*) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into first *τεχνικῷ* *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significat* *tionibus* &c. And 2ly, *ἢ τεχνικῷ* or *ἀδιδασκτον* *naturalem*, for *Eurip.* in which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said *Bacc.* 199. to be ὁ διδασκων διδύμου *μαντισσας*, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called *μαντικῇ*, proceeded first *ἀπὸ μωτῆς* *furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophecy; yet it seems rather to have been

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* c. 44. v. 25. Said he would *make their Diviners mad*. And *Cicero* himselfe saies tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods*. Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it *ὀνειροκρίσις*, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone tumbling down the hill.

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had: or *Polybius* Prophecyng his Sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a belief: such as the Sybill women had; or the *Pythia* wench, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafis quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum*, invented for guine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that *a Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, nature Sibyllam*. *Pythia* had it inspired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the *Sibylles* had it by nature. Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens*, then in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, viz. *Pythium*, *Dodonaum*, and *Jupiter Hammon's*.

a Cic. l. 1. de  
Divin.

## CAP. I.

### De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium*, for the same reason that the Wo-

man

man was called *Pythia*, i. e. Either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythis* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navillis* to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *μυῖον* *μυῖον*; because it was *ὀμφαλ* the Navill, or *Umbilicus* the mid't of Greece, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the World as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi*. And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles* saies *Pindar* (*Crowes* saies some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter* met both in that place. Nay in allusion to the name of *ὀμφαλ* (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a Navill made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from *ὀμφη* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neq; locus is sit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus sit in homine medius*. But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, *πρωτόμαντις γαῖα*: and some *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη κατέδωκε βροτῶς μαντήιον ἄνθρωπον.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, *Diodor. l. 6.* comming to a den very large before with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddaine fell a leaping and making a tirange noise. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coreias*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolick; but prophesied too! And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath* (*ἄσμα διαμνιον*, or *anhelitus terra*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, expired. Insomuch that afterward they set a Three-

footed stool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it consecrated for a Priestesse, whose common name was *Pythia*, and her office to put the Oracle into verse and deliver it out. For (saies *Plutarch*) the words are hers, only *Apollo* τὰς φωνὰς πα-  
 ευσσι, καὶ ὥς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ οὗτος τὸ μέλλον, fate in under blowing with the bellows to set her a peeping or a whispering like those Οὐρανός in *Isaiah* c. 8. v. 19. Where he speaks of such *ἰγασπίμυθους*, or belly Prophets that peep and mutter; such as the *Pythia* was, out of whose belly the Divel spake his propheties with a small peeping voice like a child's. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, saying, *Thou shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.* Now some say the *Trypus* whereof I spake, was a pot filled with dust, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked inspiration, was to passe into the belly of the Wench, and so to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that those Prophets which in those times had a familiar spirit within them, were commonly called by the name of *ἰγασπίμυθοι*, and *σενομανεῖς*, as well as *πύθωνες*, and *εὐρυκλῆς*, the manner of her sitting, &c. when she took the spirit in, because it may not so fitly be expressed in English, I desire to give you it in the words of the d Scholiast, *Ἐμπνευσμένη τὰς βίβωδι καὶ διαφεύουσα τὰ σκέλη πονηρῶς ποδὶν πνεῦμα διδόνει γεννητικῶν ἐδίζητο μοελων, καὶ τὰς βίβας λύουσα, καὶ ἀρεῖν ἐν τῷ σώματι πημπεύου καὶ μαίνευσα, τὰς μαντείας, ἢ μᾶλλον μαντείας ἐφθγγετο.* She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus speaks of their gestures, *Sælis namq; humeris & utraq; manu districtos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, insaniant.* But this peeping may not make me preposterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The first Maids name that prophesied in that place, was *Phenomena*. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates*, a Thessalian

a As I have heard he lately did in a possessed Christian in the Town of *Barwick*.

b C. 29. v. 4.

*Plutarch. de Orac. defec.*  
 c And *Enriclida* from *Enrycles* a Prophet of that name.  
 d *Aristoph. in Avid.*

Theſſalian deſlowred *Phabas*; and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The a cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they <sup>a</sup> *χ.ον Εν* went to ſtool, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in *rip. Phæn.* the fountain *Caſtalins* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

— *κῶμας ἑμὰς δειῦσαι* — when they ſate fiſt  
on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake b the Laurel-tree that grew b *χ.ον Ari-*  
cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew *ſtoph.*  
in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies *μασσομένην δάφνην*, for ſo other  
ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Cassandra*  
*λαμάν δαφνηφόρον.*

The fiſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaffus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaffus* from *Λαρυαξ* *Dencalions* *Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem.* As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortimipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the cover---*tripodes Cortina regit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been *φιδλή* a Pot (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with *Ψῆπος*, or *calculi*, cuts or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (*ἤλαστον*) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aſk, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the answer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-board called *ἄλμϙ*, (as the table-boards were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ἑτολμϙ*, and his Wench *ἑτολμυς*.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much looſe themſelves, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the answer, and make them more to ſeek than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be



fooled, because forsooth *Apollo* is λοξός crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must παλαῖεν, be crabbed in his delivery, as well as in his gate. 'Tis his use

*Senec. Ord.*

*Act. 2. Sc. 1.*

*Ambage nexâ Delphico mos est deo*

*Arcana tegere.*

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, ἐς παλαιὰ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῖς ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν αἰνίγμασι γράσαν, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

— *dicte per carmina Sortes.*

For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐειπίδης

Ἄνδρ' ὃ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

*De Pythia  
Oracul.*

Was thought, to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not heroic enough to become the Author. *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place. μέτρα ἢ ῥυθμὸς διὸν ἀγνῶτα τοῖς χρησμοῖς περιέκλοντες, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in brief, and so commonly in obscurity, was because the god ἀπαρίξεν μὲν ἑ δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθές, not willing to conceal the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it fell to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatise of purpose.

*Polyaust. l.  
2. 27.*

The esteem, which they had of those Oracles, was such; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himself, yet in *Æuripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*,  
that

that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides Apollo's own.

—Φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον

ἔστι θεῶν ὁρᾶν, ὅς ἰδοῖεν ἑδνα.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and corrupted very often. Tully when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit*. But indeed, she has not been thus along time. Nay for three hundred years (I think) before his time, Demosthenes could complain she did *φιλιππίζειν*, flatter and speak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by *Clysthenes*, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the Athenians from the Tyranny; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* *κερδῶν θεόν* for nothing.

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so *Cicero* thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse*. And that, First because *Apollo* did not speak in Latine. 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verse in *Pyrrhus* his time.

L. 2. de Divin.

## C A P. II.

*De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.*

**A**LL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for I feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or *ἀνδράματα*, of most of the Princes or people in the world (insomuch that *Aphetoria opes*, so said from

from Ἀθήνας the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at several times. The first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Temple fields*. The second of *Wax and Feathers*; or else faigned to be made ἐκ πτερόν of wings, because the mans name was *Pterias* that built it. The third of *Brasse* (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκοῖον*.) This, some say, was molten to ground; others, that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Glympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyetions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispiece, the reason whereof is disputed by a *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customs, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affairs; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies extraordinary to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were ordinarily used in the *Delia-feast* once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes θύλιασαι, from the feast, sometimes θύοισι (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo Σκοπός* in *Pindar* (*Pish. 7.*) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his angel the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the business was called Ἀρχαῖος. There were also sent along with them Κήρυξ & Μυστῆς, two that were to be ἑτάστοι, or *Eupulones* at *Delos* for that year. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the b head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμῶνός τε τοιμύς τε ψυχή,

Pausan. in  
Phoc.

ἂν ᾖ τὸ E. I.  
τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς

b Ἐανδὰ δ'  
ἔρε μύμενοι  
δαφνῇ καὶ δού-  
πιδι μύτω-  
πα.

Apollonius l.  
2. Argon.

in allusion to the three parts of the soul. The ship was likewise called *Θεωεῖς*, and sometimes *Θηλιαῖς*. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at such time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he instituted the plaies, and the solemnity celebrated by the aforesaid *Deliaſta*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ship the *Athenians* kept for his sake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalerens*, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῆς αὐξανόμενων λόγον ἀμφιδόξου μὲν παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον ἦν ὅτι μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅτι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων, *Insomuch* (saies *Plutarch*) that *Philosophors* use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same, notwithstanding continual decay, by this similitude. Besides this, *Tracyd. l. 5.* there were four more *naves sacra*, viz. the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were sent for the keeping of the feast and the Sacrifice, were called *πρωτῆα*. For when they came thither, first they a Sacrificed : and then the Maids, sent thither from several places, fell a Dauncing a strange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called *τέχτων*, *Græc.* the Crane: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biring at a bush of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *snapple*) if so much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

a Εμπύρις  
τεκμαίεμε-  
νοι. apud  
*Pind. Ol. 7.*  
H.

Πεῖν μέγαν ἢ σὺ βομῶν ὑπὸ πληγῇσι ἐλίσσαι,  
ῥησόμενον καὶ φέμενον ὀδονκτάσαι ἀγνὴν ἱλαίνης  
χεῖρας ἀποσφύσαντες, &c.

*Hymn. in  
Del.*

The Altar was *κεράτιον βομῶς*, and therefore called *Κερατῶν* because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the horns of the Goats, which his sister *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut.* in *Theſeo*. And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis ὅτι δεξιῶν. Whether it should be rendered of the right side, or right, that is, fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were

were these horns joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the seven strange sights  
 'Εν τοῖς ἑπτά θαυμάσις θαύμασι as Ovid saies,

*Mirror & innumeris strabam de cornibus aram.*

During all these holy dayes no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ὥς αὖ ἡ θεοὶ ἐν Διὶ ἐπαγάθη, saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides*,

Οὐδ' τις μ' ὡς θεῶν ἀξιοῖ δμῶ

*In Hippol.*

Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐρέως περσεννέπει.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them, *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a *Scythian* one of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The *Athenians* when all *Greece* was infected with the *Plague*, had an Oracle from thence, to make voves and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to *Delphos*. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

a Pulcher Apollo  
 Lustrat Hyperboreas  
 Delphis celsantibus aras.  
*Claudian.*

—Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,  
 Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.  
 Non Tripodas Cortina regit, non spumat anhelus  
 Fata Sibyllinis fanaticis edita libris.  
 Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores  
 Nec responsa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀντικτὸν or χενσιέον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Divell to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for *heat*, as that place at *Delphos* was for *height*. *Dodona* Grove is thought to have been such another *School*, viz. for the off-spring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of *Doves*, that should come from *Egypt*, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there using the voice of a man, among other good instructions, gave order for the building of a *Temple* in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ship came thither (while I speak of these things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Ark, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most ancient of all, and of these two, the last. τὸ δὲ μαντεῖον αὐτὸ νομίζουσιν ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι ἐλλοι χενσιέων. *Herodot.* and therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certain Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Egypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phanicians* first, and from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Prophetesse, ἡ πηλας. *Eustathius* saies, that in the *Thessalian* tongue old Women were called πηλαι, and old Men πηλῶν, *In ll. ξ.* and that those Prophetesses being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly supposed to be Doves. The same Author also saies, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men and women) for their rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seems to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Prophetesses to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*



*Phron* calls *Cassandra* by the name *Φάσσα Palumbes*: though in another place she have the name of a more rattling Bird, viz. *Φοιβύλη* *ἡ Χελιδὼν* the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniae*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of *πλειάδες*: or rather, if you will, the old women therefore had the name of *πλειαί*, because they were *ππλιωμένοιαι* gray haired and aged.

*Strabo* speaks of four Priests called 'Ελλοὶ ἀπὸ ἱερῶν τοῦ Ἰεῦς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, from the *fens* neer the Temple, viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Temurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them *Ξελλοί*, saying

— ἀμφὶ δὲ Ξελλοί

Ναίοντες δ' ἱεροφῆται ἀντιπόδες χαμαὶ ἔουδον.

They used not to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amid't the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oaks, when it came but from between them. They are called *ἱεροφῆται*. *δρύες*, and *μανηταὶ δρύες*, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lyphophon* called *ἀλάληδες* *κίσσαν*. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other *περὶ ἀλλήλων κειμένων*, saith *Eusebius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Es Dodonum* became a proverb. Felike they used to strike these Basins as they used to do other Basins and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessel so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

a Cæco To-  
muri jovis  
augure luco  
Arbore præ-  
sagâ tanblai  
animâsse Lo-  
quaces.  
Claudian.



## CAP. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas in  
Templis, cum observatione diatæ

Prophecying by a *Dream*, was either *ὄνειροπόλος*, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer of Dreams*, or *ὄνειροκρίτης* *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter of Dreams*, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said *ὡς μοι κρίνω τοῖς ὄνειροις*. The latter of these surely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Arifoliation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sepe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no *Art*, what talk we of *Xenophon's* Dreams in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of a eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise *πεὶ ἐμπνέων* reported by *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore *Senarii* Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a *Dream*. But the dream (you must understand) was not every *ὄναρ*, or *vain dream* (for so does the Etymology import. *ὄναρ* τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀληθῆς εἶναι, saies *Eustathius*) but *ὄναρ*, or *ὄνειρος*, a *morning dream*, fresh and fasting, such as *ὄναρ* is, saith *c Homer*, which they derive *ὄναρ* ἔκ τῆς ὄρας, which comes about waking time, or *ὄνειρος*, which they derieve *ὄναρ* ἔκ τῆς ὄρας, and of such is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymn*: Ἀγγελεὶς μιλόντων θνητοῖς χροσμῶ δὲ μέγιστε. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarch's* *Thrasymede*, or *Plinies* *Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured

Lib. I. Divin.

a *Hadr. Jun. animad.*  
b *In Pomperio.*

c *Οὐκ ὄναρ  
ἀλλ' ὄναρ  
ἐστὶν ὅτι  
τελεσμένον  
ἐστίν.*

*Hom Odyss.*

L. 6. 7. who was the first conjectour in this kind. a *Pliny* saies, *Amphy-*  
 Cap. 5. *Elyon*, *Deucalion's* son; *Philo Judæus*, *Abraham*; *Trogus Pom-*  
*peius*, *Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaræus*, whom  
 he reports to have been deified for his skill; and that they used  
 to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. They talk  
 that the people that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were  
 excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the  
 b *Hible*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among all, the old  
 doting Women were best at it.

b *Pausan.* E-  
 liac.

*Propertius*

Lib. 2. El. 4.

*Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.*

When they desired to dream a propheticall dream, some-  
 times they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaræus*, and sleep  
 upon the fleece. For thus the *Daurii* used to do in the Tem-  
 ple of c *Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melote*  
 αιτωδ μέλανα sheep-skins, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podali-*  
 αριον διμαν- rius. And it seems, it was a common practise both for dreaming;  
 τ δόμινοι εἰς- for *Virgil* also saies,

ασιμαίμενοι

ἐν τῷ δέσματι

Cal. Redig.

— *Casæum ovium sub nocte silenti*

*Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosq; petivit.*

And also for purifying a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and  
 other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had  
 been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of  
 Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was  
 no small use of fleeces and skins in several other busineses;  
 as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I  
 told you) sat upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her pur-  
 pose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythi-*  
*ans* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man  
 had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge him-  
 self, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces  
 and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind  
 him, and so beg for help. Then come his friends, and eve-  
 ry one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot  
 on the skin, promised either men or arms, or what he  
 best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast  
 engage-

engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in a Temple with Laurel, or some such fatidical stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddess of the dreamers, so called from *Βέζεν* *α* *αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν ἱερῷ* to sleep. The Lacedæmonians kept men of purpose to sleep in the Temple of *Pasitheia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were sick they would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, to dream of a remedy, (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who shall dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so,

Κατεκλίνομεν ἢ πάντων, ὡς περ ἑκὼς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in saying,

*Non delubra deum, nec ab æthere numina mittunt*

Sat. 6.

*Sed sibi quisque facit.*

Besides all this they took a special care of their diet, so as to fast for one day before, and abstain from wine for three; as likewise to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Aristotle* saies there is no credit to be given *φθιγο* *πρωινῶς ἐνυμνίῳ*, to dreams in the Autumn. But *Plutarch* questions that again, and saies if we eat good and ripe fruit, *ἢ ἥσιν ἀπαιτλοῖς, ἢ ψεύδεσσιν ἐνυμνίῳς εὐρεσμεν*, our dreams will be the truer. Fish, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they sacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fish; whether it were to please the goddess with the sparing of the best thing, or the rejection of the worst, I cannot tell. *Plutarch* observes that the head of a *Polypus* is as sower in the dream, as 'tis sweet in the tast: and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choice there was also of the colour of their Cloaths. For the whitest and clearest was best, *καλλιῶν δὲ καὶ χροαίστων ἐν ὑμῶν ἐμπεύ*, saies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Visions must needs be the clearer. The truest dreams (*ἡδιστοὶ*) or the clearest visions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

ἂς οἱ ἐναρ- morning (the former time a Homer calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγῆν, the  
 γῆς ὄνειρον ὅ- milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγῆς  
 πῶτος νυκ- the milking time in the evening)

τὸς ἀμολγῶ.

Odyss. δ.

b Namque sub  
 auroram dor-  
 mitantelucernâ

Tempore quo  
 cerni somnia  
 vera solent.

Εὐτε καὶ ἀπὲρ κλῶν ποιμαίνεται ἐν ὄνειρον.

saies Theotritus: and b Ovid was of the same mind. Pliny saies  
 a dream is never true presently after eating and drinking. But  
 Artemidorus saies it is all one for that, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀμολγῆς ἔσθαι ἐστὶ  
 πᾶς τῇ ἑω παρέχουσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, for if you eat too much, the  
 dream will never be the truer if it tarry till morning.

#### CAP. IV.

##### De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were  
 fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by,  
 one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much Penelope  
 her self could tell Ulysses (when she desired him to interpret  
 her dreams)

Δοῖαι γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμειννῶν εἰσὶν ὄνειρων

Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεῖσθαι πεδύχαι, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer. Ausonius saies as much; telling you which are the true, and  
 which the false,

Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno  
 Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,  
 Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the  
 same. Philostratus saies, that in allusion to these doors, they  
 used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and  
 a horn in his hand. The door for the true dreams was of  
 Horn.

Ἀπαρίσθω δὲ σκοποντα δὲ ἐν κερῶν πυλῶν.

Nonnus di-  
 on. δ.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when  
 they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for  
 the

the false and deceitful dreams, was of Ivory, such as that where-  
with *Morrhæus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρρεα δ' ἰωνῶντα παρήπαθεν ὄψις ὀνείρου

*Nonn.*

Κλεψιγῶν ἐλέφαντ' ἀνείξασα πολάων

*Lucian* therefore jeers the covetous *Micyllus* for wish-  
ing his dream-door were of Gold, whereas there were but  
those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in a *Plato*.

Ἄγε τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κέρας εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντ' ἐλάλῃσιν.

*In Char-  
mide.*

The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at  
by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended ;  
and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true

(saies he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐν κέρας : because

τὰ ἔνυμα κεραιῖσι, or κραιῖσι, that is, effectum reddunt, they say

no more then comes to passe, whereas those that come in by

the Ivory-door, or δι' ἐλέφαντ', ἐλεφαίονται or ἐλπαίονται,

delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly, κε-

ρατὶν ὀρθῶς, the coming in by the Horn is as much as com-

ing cleerly, for one may see through horn, if it be made

thin. ἐλεφαντίν, the other confusedly, for one cannot see

through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or

the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does

Interpret it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the

figure *Synecdoche*, or κεραιῖδης χιτῶν, cornea tunica, the first

coat of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the Ivory-

coloured teeth, ἐλεφαντ' ὄχρους ὀδόντες: and so the meaning must

be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelier, then that

which is but said to be so from the teeth. And this was also the

opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words

of *Virgil*,

Sunt Gemina somni porta, &c.

4ly, By the Horn-door, may be meant the passage for

the more heavenly and Diviner sort of dreams, ἐρμηνῶν ὀνείρα,

or διόπερ' ἔπειτα: by the other, the entrance for the χερσίων: the

more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants

*Proboscis* turns downward towards the earth, whereas the

*b* Speaking of  
sleep saies he.  
*Hoc velamen*  
cum in quiete  
ad verum usq;  
aie anima in-  
t. aspiciens iad-  
n itir, de cornu  
creditur, cujus  
ista natura est,  
ut tenuatum  
visui pervium  
sit, cum autem  
a vero hebetat  
ac repellit, obdu-  
si. ebur putatur  
cujus &c. l.c. 3  
in Somnium  
horns Scip.





Plato who thought the air to be full of such things. And so Democritus (as the Scholiast reports, who saies that he had it from Homer himself) thought that men dreamt this or that dream  $\kappa\tau\iota$  ἄσκεισιν ἢ ὑμνωσιν, or (as a Plutarch has it from the same man)  $\kappa\tau\iota$  ἀσφαλείσιν ἢ ἰσθλῶν, according to this composition, or separation of Images, or Ghosts, or phancies, or somewhat. But indeed I think those ἰσθλα, should not be so much Images as Imaginations; nor so much umbra Ghosts, as adumbrationes, Images and Species in the phancy proceeding from the spirits within, and not from those without.

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.

FOR their descent, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the Earth.  $\chi\theta\omega\upsilon$  μήτηρ ὀνείρων, saies Euripides. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason,  $\epsilon\kappa\ \mu\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \gamma\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\phi\omega\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \upsilon\pi\eta\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\kappa\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\eta\iota\omega\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , because from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams. Some indeed thought, they were from Hecate, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the Moon, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the Kind, of dreams, Macrobius makes five, viz. 1. Φαντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπσιον, 3. Ὀνείρ, 4. ὄραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ἀλληθρεῖς, and θεωρηματικὸς ὄνειρος, θεωρηματικοὶ, were  $\delta\iota\ \tau\eta\ \iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , when things appeared in their own likeness. Ἀλληθρεῖς were when they appeared in the likeness of other things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as Cæsars was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed Imperium orbis terre potendi, quæ cunctarum viventium sit mater, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be under him. Nay the distinction of dreams was so accurate,



curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no lesse than three servants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dream that should concern *men*, he made use of *Morpheus*, *Ovid. Met.* if *beasts*, of *Phobetus* (as *men* called him) or *Icolus* (as the gods called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris* —

*l. 12. f. 10.* if inanimate creatures (*Quæ vacant animâ* —) of him that had the name of *Phantasos* (I wonder how he could remember all the shapes, and the river of *Lethe* spring in his house, and his house be as dark as a den, as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the best? Yes by all means, as soon as I *Propert. l. 2.* arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stuff, *Eleg. 29.* *diis penetibus.*

*Vadit & hinc caste narratum somnia Vesta*

*Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.*

Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo aver-*  
*tuncus*, called by them *Ἀπολλων*, *Ἐκκλυστα*, or *Ἀποσταθείς*, because his Image used to stand in the Porches. Some had rather to do it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reason why they should do it to the *Sun*, viz. *Ἦνα ἐπειδὴ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτροπὴν ἐργάζηται*, &c. Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expel all evils brought by it same. They are the words of the Scholiast upon that of *Sophocles* — *ἡλίου δεικνυσὶ τέναρ* &c. They called this action *ἀποτροπή*, *ἀποδιπομπή*, and *ἀποτροπή* *ἐνυχονόμην*, but most properly *ἀποτροπή* *ἡλίου*. It was practised by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when she had dreamt of the fall of the house: although she (or the Poet, had so much wit as to think it to be too little purpose.

*Idem in*

*Taur. v. 43.*

*Ἄρετα δ' ἦκεν νύξ φέρουσα φάσματι*

*Δέξω σῶς αἰδὶρ ὅτι δὴ τόδ' ἐστ' ἄλγος.*

If you think that this will not do neither, try a third remedy, go make a prayer and wash your self lustily in the

the cold River till you sweat.

— *sub lucem ut visa secundet.*

Oro calicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain,  
as he did in \* *Æschylus*.

*Sil. Ital. l. 8.*

\* *In Persis.*

Ἐπὶ δ' αὖτε λυγρὸν καὶ χροῖν ἐκλιπρόν  
Ἐφαυσα πηγῆς ἐν δυνάμει χροῖ  
Βομῶν περὶ τὸν ὑποπταίους δαίμονα  
Θάλασσα δύναι πύλονον.

If you think no cold water will do it, call for hot, as he does  
in *Aristophanes*.

— ἐν ποταμῶν δ' ἐστὶν ἄεθ' ἄεθ'

Θέρμετε δ' ὕδαρ

*In Ratis.*

\* ὣς δ' ἔστιν ὁρμερὴν ὑποκλῦσαι.

But perhaps no kind of fresh water is strong enough; you  
may do well therefore to try in the Sea, for there they used to  
wash away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or di-  
sease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Empirides* when he  
went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling-  
sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bath himself in the sea, and be-  
ing by that means cured, he presently gave this commendation  
of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακὰ.

So I remember *Plinius* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for  
recovery of his sight. After murder (for other sins they scarce  
thought great enough, to cost hot water) it was a common practise;  
and then no fear of the displeasure of a god for the future.

λυμαδ' ἀγνίσαι ἐμὰ

Μῦθον βαρύνει ὑπερκαλύνουμαι διὰς.

## SECT. II.

*De Divinatione artificiosâ, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.*

THE Technical part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were *σημαί* or *κηρύδρες* ominous words, or things, *σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κληροί* lots, *τέγρα* fights, and indeed *ἄπειρα μύερα* (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Qua est autem gens, aut qua civitas, qua non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had so great esteem of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, a quo Caria nomen habet: adjecti ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus*. Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

*Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis  
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos  
Que decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.*

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow  
(say

H. A.

*Cicer. l. i.  
Divin.*

L. 7. c. 55.

H. C.

(say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (saith Hesiod) which Mopsus, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ἐριθιαν εἶα, or διωνισκῆ. It was διωνισκῆ at first with an omicron, according to Plato, as being ἐν τῷ πρῷ ἃ διαποίας ποιεῖσθαι αἰσθάνησθαι δὴσιν: but now (saith Aristides) they write it with omega τὸ ὦ συμνύοντες, to give the better grace to the word: and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ἄρνις, and διωνὺς a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the Augur's fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines) and to have his διωνιστεῖον his place and his seat appointed for the purpose, τῷ δῶκος, οἱ δῶκος.

Εἰς δὲ πάλαιον δῶκον ὀρνιθοσκοπέως ἴζον. Saies he in Sophocles. And the Scholiast upon the words δῶκος in Euripides saies, it was a place made in Thebes, where Tiresias used to sit and divine. When they went to it διωνοσκοποι ἐν δῶκοις ἀσμεῖν τοις πῆσις (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their Table-books with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the seeing too Tiresias being blind, and only able to fore-see, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means she her self at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at Thebes for her skill in the art. Yea not only the habit of the Greek Augures, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent, saies Cicero.* The Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, *Græcis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the left. Although (to speak the truth) the side was the same, only the posture of the Augures was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the south; and the word *sinistra* for lucky or good signs, came not so much à sinistra manu from

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the

the hands being left; as a *finendo*, from the man's being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies *Festus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quamquam hand ignoro qua bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint*. But yet this was the manner of speech, viz. For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies a *δεξιά* right (and therefore *Statius* may seem to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

a Ζεὺς δὲ  
στὴν κρονίδης  
ἐνδεῖα σήμα-  
τα φαίνει,  
Saies Ajax  
Hom. II. 10.  
b Theb.

b *Signa ferat levusque tones* —) the Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *leva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco*. Unluckie birds (a word used among us for an unhappy wag) they called *ἐξωαίμους*, or *ἐξέδρους*, when they fled not, or pitcht not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

Enrip. Hip-  
pol. v. 934.

ἐκκλήσαντοί μοι  
λόγοι ὅσα ἀλάστορες ἐξέδρους φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called *σποθύμοι*, or *κωλυτικοί* *inhibita*, *ἐγκα-  
τιοι* *arcula*, and *ἀνέκλιτοι* (as in c *Apollonius*) ab *ἐκω* *cedo*, as  
who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*; as I told you be-

ἐκέρπον ὅτε  
ὥς ἐφορμαί-  
νοντα καὶ γυ-  
λαὶς κέε  
τίλλοντα.  
saies Æ-  
schylus.

fore. And such they commonly counted those that had long talons or scracht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volsgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worser sort, and hang them up at the door: as we use to do dead Crows upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè*

Metam. li. 3  
ὁ ὄρνις ἰδὼν  
τινὲς ἐκ ἐν  
αἰσίοις ἔ-  
δρους. Enrip.  
in Hec.

*preherfas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infansis volatibus familia minantur, exitium suis luanant cruciatibus*. Birds that were lucky either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called *αἰσίοι*, or *ἔδριοι*, that is, such as were not *ἐξέδρους* (un-  
scally, or unsightly as we use to say) but appeared *πυμπρόποις* *ἐν ἔδρασι*, (as d *Æschylus* has it) in their proper sphere or seat, such they counted Doves, and the *οὐκὸν* in matters of Love:

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continual crowing, in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the Thebans a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere solet, canere, si vicisset.* Cock-fightings indeed were usually *αἰσῶν σημαστικοί* saith *a* Artemidorus, signs of sedition and discord. But then you must except the Cock matches kept once a year in the Theatre, and instituted by *b* Themistocles after the victory gotten over the Persians, from whom *c* the Cock first came into Athens. This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of War, was the occasion that Mars was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to Mars, and therefore Aristophanes in *Avibus* calls it *Ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάρ* Mars his own bird. All birds (saith one) were either *μυρτίς*, or *μυρτίς* or *δαλδοσία*. The *μυρτίς* (I believe) were not many besides Crows, and Eagles and Doves, and Owls the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such venomous and veneneficial means: *Qui credit ista* (saies Pliny) *& Melampodi profecto aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia.* Eustathius saies that Helenus and Cassandra were thus licked clean into Augurs, *Ἐλένη καὶ Κασσάνδρα ἐν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἐλθόντες ὄφεις καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν φιλῆξαντες ὥστε ὅπως ἐξηκότες εἰργάζοντο ὡς μάντις ταῖς ἡσθεῶν ἀκούοντες βουλὰς.* I am glad I am saved the labour to reprove those fellows *my self*. For it seems that the wiser sort even amongst them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban Augur (who had dissuaded from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, *you may, if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds*

*a* Lib. 3. c. 5.

*b* *Ælian.*

*Var. Hist. l.*

*2. c. 28.*

*c* *Athen. l. 14*

*Resin.*

*x. In Aristoph. Avibus.*

till

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἰς οἰωνὸς ῥεῖς & ἀμύνεσθαι πρὶ πάσης.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their spectators for their superstition.

Ἐσμέν δ' ἡμῶν δαίμων, Δελοῖ δωδώνη φοῖβος ἈπOLLON,  
ΕΛΘόντες, ὃ πρὸτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις ἔτω πρὸς ἅπαντα πρέπεις.

## CAP. I.

*De extispicinâ, & quibusdam aliis.*

**D**ivination by the Entrails of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *â priori* from the best part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero* :) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamida*, and the *a Clytida*, and *Thelmessas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindness*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but <sup>b</sup>his. *Ulysses* himself was fain to trouble his soul to come back again to give him advise. The whole business of Divining at the offering of a victim (for there was something else to do besides poring in the guts) was called *ιεργασίαι*. And a very solemn business it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that.

<sup>a</sup> *Pindar.*

ὅτι καὶ πρὸς  
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι  
πρὸς οὐρανὸν  
ὅτι πρὸς οὐρανὸν  
*Hom. Odysf.*  
K.

*Eurip. Elect.*  
v. 835.

— ὅπως πρὸς οὐρανὸν θοῖαν σάμαθαι.

*Θυτική*, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφάβολα, and the act of cutting ἐνωμειτή. The signs observed were most properly called σημεῖα, and the observers σημηωτικοί. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not down quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept



kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Aegythus*.

— πᾶν ὃ σῶμα αἶμα καὶ πο  
ἥσπαυεν ἡλάλαζε δὲ δρῆσκον φόνον.

*Ibid.*

Ill signs, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently darting out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

— αἷματος δ' ἀπορρεῖαι  
Εἰς αἶμα ἑσπρόντιζον ἔειπε

*Idem.*

v. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very *αἷμα* or wagging of his tail, whence that in the Poet.

— Ἡ κέρκε ποιεῖ καλῶς;

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of hogs, and the *Jamids* of Dogs; which was the reason why *Thra-* *cPausan E-*  
*fibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a dog *liac.*  
lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder.

In *Fissiculation* or cutting it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which *Philostratus* saies they accounted *εἰς ἡπαρ φα-*  
the *Tripus* (as it were) or the chair, and the key of the work. *σι τ' αὐτῆς*  
For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood *μαντικῆς εἶ*  
and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch *τι ποσὶ οἱ*  
that the work about all the bowels was called *ἡ παποσκοπία*, a *δεινὸν τοῦτα*  
*looking* into the liver. The Concavous part of the Liver was  
called *ἐσπεία familiaris*, because the signes which they obser-  
ved there, concerned *themselves* and *their friends*: the Gibbous  
side, *ἐπὶ βόλῃς* or *ἐπὶ τριδῆς hostilis*, because the tokens in it con-  
cerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place  
or seat in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called  
*ἐξῆς ἀρχῇ*: the place between the parts in the middle *πυ-*

*Hesych.*

αἰῶα, and εὐρυχωρία. a Hesychius calls it, ὀδὸς, or ἐκτροπὴς, Euripides πύλας.

Demost. Co-  
ron.

— πύλαι καὶ ὁ δόχῃ πύλας

καὶ οὗτοι ἔφαινον τὸ σκοπεῖν τι περὶ βοῶν.

L. 2.

If there were *δυσχέρως* (as they called it) too much dryish, or *δυσχέρως* a tie between the parts, or especially if it were *ἀλοβόν*, or without a lobus, it was a very ill sign: according to that of *Appian* τὰ φῶτα ἀλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δὲ περὶ εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signs because they were so bad, that they feared to go any farther in it; they called *αἰκιδάδα*. When they came to handle the heart, they called it *καρδίδια*, or *καρδίδια*. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (*κίβητι δὲ κῶλα συγκαλύπτει*) saies *Æschylus*; and so were *Σπλάγχων πύχες*, platts and foldings, saies *Euripides*.

Hesych.

When they came to burning, then they were said more properly *ἐμπύρων μαρτυρεῖσθαι*. At *Delphos* they had *πυρῶν*, officers of purpose for the work. The fire which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshiped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*.

Xenoph.

V. 751.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too.

Οὐδ' ἂν αἱ ὀρεῖς ἐν ἐμπύρῳ φλογός,

Good signs in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noise, if it continued till all were consumed; or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign, instead of *ὀρεῖς* cleft wood, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ φλόγα, according

cording to that,

οὐκ ἔνι δοκῶ σοὶ μαρτυκῶς τὸ φεῦγον πῶδασι.

Aristoph. in  
Pact.

χ. in Eurip.

c Sil. Ital.

In.

Eurip. in  
Phan.

Μάντις μὴ λ'  
ἵσφαζον, ἡμ-  
πύρις τ' ἀκ-  
μῶς ῥήξαι τ'  
ἑσθμῶν ὑ-  
χόπτει' ἐτα-  
πῶν Νίκης  
π σῆμα καὶ ῥ'  
ἡσπομένων.

<sup>a</sup> In Oedip.  
Tyr.

Καλὸν δια-  
μα θυμῶμα  
των Αἰεσι  
διαψίρρσι  
πλεκταίω  
κῆρυ.

Now indeed many times ἃ ὃ ἔστιν ἀσπμα καὶ ἡ σαφὴ, γινώσκουμεν οἷς πῦρ βλέποντες, that is, the Priests being divinarumq; sagaces c *Flammarum*, divined by the burning, when there was nothing c *seen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders *μαλλοδέτες κύστις*) put into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine, καὶ πῦρ τὸ οὐρὸν ἀκονήζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the gull, and the ἀκρὸς λαμπρὰς in the flame: and very good reason, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ, for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt. Of the Ashes too they took some notice *μαντεία* ἀπὸ δῶ, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankincense and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to sell the smoak. Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. *Νεκρομαντεία* or *Νεκρομαντεία*, was sometimes by the magical use of a bone, or a vein of a dead body, after the fashion of the *Thessalians*, or else by powring hot blood into the carcase, to make it answer a question, as *Erisio* does in *Lucian*,

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore queris

*Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atraque fovit*

*Vulnera &c.* —

Now because the Ghost or the Soul was thus recalled to the body (—*animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed *ψυχμαντεία*, or *σχομαντεία*, Divining by the Soul, or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before:

*Herod. l. 6.* For *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him; because he had buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresias* used to the *b Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of a fountain, and so was called *πυρμαντεία*. It was done severall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a Poet too) οἱ δὲ ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πίνοντες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly. By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did cakes in the well of *Ino*. 3ly. By seeing the Images of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxenus* in *Achaiah*. 4ly. By dipping a glasse in the water, to know what would become of a sick man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glasse, accordingly they presumed of his future condition. 5ly. By throwing in three stones, and observing the round they made in the sinking. Sometimes they made use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed *χρῆμα*, as when it was done in a Bason, *λεκαυομαντεία*. *Λιδομαντεία*, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of loadstone, which if they washt in Spring-water, would speak like a child. With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of *Troy*. *Κοσκινομαντεία*, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl. 3.* And I have seen it used by some women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anti superstitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leisure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of *δακτυλομαντεία*, with *Gyges* his ring: or of *αἰσχοπία* with Eggs, which *Suidas* saies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κλειδομαντεία* with barley, or of *λυχνιομαντεία*, by the burning of a candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives-Sayes concerning weather:

*Pausan. in  
Lacon.*

L. 30. c. 11.

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

*Luna revertentem, &c.* with the rest.

C A P. II.

*De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.*

ALL this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called *χανδρες* or *φήμαι*, from *φάμαι* (suitable to the name of *Propheta*;) as *omen* comes from *oremen*, quia fit ore (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observant, sed etiam hominum*. Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called *ἄσσημα*: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to *βλασφημεῖν αὐτόν* to blaspheme him *φθίγγετα βλασφημίαν* *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

L.I. Divin.

*βλασφημίαν τίς οἰκιστὴς ἐφείλετο.*

The Latines call it *obscanare*, and the words themselves *male ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *halting speeches*. Such words as these they had alwayes a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of *δεσμωτίειν* a prison, *οἰκνῆμα* a house. And so for *φείννεσ*, *ἔμμενιδε*; and *Σεμναὶ θεαὶ*: for *πίθηκε*, *καλλίας*: for *μῦθος*, *ἀγέ* and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublicæ non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to

Ion. II 88.  
Epist. ad  
Cassium

Plato l. 7. de  
Leg.

Speak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other business with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded and observed, then *εὐχμητεῖν* (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) to avoid all ominous expressions, or *κακὰς ὁμίας* (as they called them.) Which if they were spoken by a brother, or one very near of kin to that party whose business was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them so much the worse. What words were especially counted for ominous, you might give me an account; if you could give me Suetonius his book, of which we have but the title, viz. *De uerbis male ominatis*. Only thus much I may tell you, that when they first set about any business of concernment, they had a special care to begin with a Preface *Θεὸς θεός*, or *ἔν πατοίμεν*, or *ἔσται μὲν ἔν*, like to *Persius* his *hoc bene sit*, and that old threadbare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumq; sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happiness but to hear them spoken. For so when *Julius* had said

*Mensas etiam consumimus*—presently (saies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the word and imbraced the omen,

—*ca vox audita laborum*

*Prima tulit finem, primūque loquentis ab ore  
Eripuit pater*—

So *Leotychides*, when he desired of a *Samian* his assistance against the *Persians*, asked what his name was, and being answered *Hegesistratus*, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the nomen, or *Ἡγηςίστρας δέχομαι τὸ ὄνομα* for *δέχομαι τὸ ὄνομα*, is the same with them, that accipere omen is with the Latines, that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my self. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen, *ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saies *Pliny*.

Now the way to abominate an omen, was either to sling a stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat,  
or

or the like; or else if it were an unlucky speech, to retort it back again with *eis κεφαλὴν σοι, tibi in caput redeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custom of the *ἱερεῖς* *πῆ*, not only among them, but among the Egyptians also, who when they spied any thing in the victims, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray, *ἕως κεφαλῇ τῆς τρωπίδας, that it might return upon the head of the beast.* The like perhaps is used in the Hebrew, viz. *שׁוּב בְּרֹאשׁוֹ* in several places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca, Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Instead of this sometimes they would say *εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι, dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it another way: or do it again; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either. 1. Marks, such as *ἰλαία* spots like oyl. 2. *Παλμοί.* 3. *Πταμοί.* *παλμὸς διονίσματος,* were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and *βόμβος*, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the right ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the right eye. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*; and *Posidonius* another (saies *Suidas*) which he called *Παλμὸν διονίσματος.*

*Πταμὸς Sneezing*, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god, & *πταμόν θεόν ἡγάμεθα*, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith *Athenens*, that they abstained from eating the brain, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation *Ζεῦ σῶσον* at a sneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose,

*Herodot.*

*Obadiah v. 15.  
& 1. Kings 2.  
v. 44. &c.*

*Mosch. lib. 1.*

*ἂν Ἀλλὰ τῶν  
ἐφ' ἁλμὸς  
μοι ὁ Δεξιὸς.  
Theocr. Id. 3*

*L. 2.*

as



as if he had stood so far out, that he could not hear himself when he sneezed.

Οὐδ' ἐλέγει, ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν παρῇ, ἢ γὰρ ἀκούει  
Τῆς φωνῆς πολλὴ γὰρ ἀκοῆς ἀπείχει.

Insomuch that if a man sneezed at such a *time*, or on such a *side*, they were either perswaded to, or discouraged from the business undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emuncta naris* as he was) had so little *serse* himself, as to fetch advice from another mans *nose*, and to make a Sneeze serve intteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reason is disputed by *Aristotle* in the *Problemes*. If a man sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to sneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then such a sneeze, αἶμα δ' ἤμαρ μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσίμυρε. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for good; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, presently after a speech made of *Ulysses* his return, and revenging himself of his enemies.

Ὅτι γὰρ, πλέμαχος δὴ μέγ' ἔπαρον — and so *Penelope* took it (for saies she, laughing and rejoycing) οὐχ ὄρεται ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἐπὶ ἐπαρῇ πᾶσιν ἔπειτα. And the reason may be because sneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholsome*, σωτηριῶδης: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ἔγω γὰρ σωτηρίαν τοῦ χ' ὑπὸ κλυτὰ ἰσθμοῖς ἔλασσον. But now at last I must tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago  
sighted

sighted even among the Grecians by the wiser sort for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord being therefore dissuaded from going by the Matter of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, *τίον ὃ δίδνισμα ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνθρώπον εἰς ἴσπας*, What great omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together. But among the Romans a great deal more: for Cicero put it among the other fooleries, *Que si suscipiamus & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigia abruptio, & sternutamenta erunt observanda.*

L. 2. de Div.

Ominous actions, or accidents, were such as these following. First at a Sacrifice, it was an action much used; to take a piece of the cake or any other thing; and carry it home *bonæ scævæ gratia*, as we say for the lucks sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of *εὖλην sanitas*. If in sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky accident. This observation the Romans called, *caducum auspicium*. 2ly, At a Feast this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a Garland — *pateramque Coronâ induit*.

εὐλινὰ ἀλ-  
φισαίνω ἐ-  
λαίω περὶ  
μῆνα, καὶ πᾶν  
τὸ ἐν τῷ.  
ἑὺ περὶ  
νον, εἰτε μί-  
νον, εἰτε  
παλὸς, φαί-  
Hesychius.

The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenens*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, *τὸ δὲ πᾶν τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ ἑνὸς, which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most.* Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dog, the cracking of the table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking) or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloaths the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the left shoe first, he was sure to have a it. And thus much at Home. Abroad they had for their omens, *συμβολα ἐνδία*, or *συμβολα ἐξενδία*. That is (saies the Scholiast) *τὰ πρῶτα ζυγαντῶντας, occursacula, any thing that meet them first.* Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physician) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books.

οικετὴς ἐμα-  
εἰς τὰ ὑποδή-  
ματα ὅτι δὲ  
περὶ τὸν ὄψον  
τὸ ἀεὶ εἶναι.  
Chrysostom.  
d In Ari-  
stoph. Av.  
Suidas.

Lucian.

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Litch with whelps, or a Lixen with Cubs; O! these things were *δυσάμματα, δυσάμματα & ἐμπόδια διαμματα*, *abominanda & auerruncanda*, abominable sights. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an

Aristoph. in Eccles.

Ape, or an Eunuch, *ἀνὴρ πίδα ἀναστρεφει*, saith Lucian, he must stand forty foot off. Nay if we met, but with a \ eeze or such

a L. 3.

b Plutarch de Philadel.

Arist. ph. in Eccles.

a creature in the crosse way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for all this day. And c *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why *παλ* should be so much taken notice of, in his d *δευκ*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is *ισόλογον* to *δύνα*, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will signify the same number. viz. 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such

In Eliacis.

an enemy to *δύνα*, as to interrupt the course of justice? perhaps, it was only then, when they omitted that usual ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of unlucky things. Infinite many more sorts of divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testify what regard the Grecians had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himself had his *Aliars*, and his prophesying by Omens *ματικλῶν καὶ κληδόνων*. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his *κληδόνων* *ιεῖον* his Temple for omens too (saies *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idol's* ears, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the temple, and the first voyce heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and 'He have done.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THIS way of Divination is clean different from the former, because in it (as Cicero saies) *temeritas & casus, non ratio & concilium valet*. For though there might be *casus* of the things in the former, yet there was skill withall in the person to give the signification. It was invented by Minerva: onely Jupiter took away her credit, to make the better trading for Apollo. Casting, or Drawing lots, was either with *ἀσάλατοι*, or *tali* cast into a box: or with *tessera* (χαμαρτῆα Plutarch calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot, or *calculi* little balls of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well (whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) Pausanias speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of Hercules Βακχῆος in Achaiah. And the like (they say) were used by the Parliament of five hundred, with the characters of the ten first letters upon them, to shew to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a rod the ensign of Mercury, the god of Lots) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the sign of Alpha, and they had the rest to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. One of these waies or *all* (which I know not) was so much used by the Thria (the three Nymphes reported to have been the nurses of Apollo) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes*, lots, according to that

Ποῦλοι ὁριόβολοι παῦσι ἢ πᾶντες ἄνδρες

*Calculi* were much used in ancient times in Judging of causes, and in wrestling matches, and the like: though (it seems) in Cicero's time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior mitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis planè refrixe*. L. 2. *Divin.*

Pag. 118.

\* L. 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

run. In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver *por* called the *χλῆμα*, into which they put little *pellets* about the bignesse of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and those that happened to draw the same mark were to *Wrestle* together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde peller (whom they named *ἑσθρον*) was to come in at *Kings* (as we say) or to wrestle at last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in *Judging of Causes*, has been shewed by another already. But that they were used also by persons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Aristophanes in pace*. For by reason that one only was to be put to death in one day, and sometimes the judgment was reversed: the Prisoners did cast lots who was to dye first; and he that drew first, was commonly called by the name of *Ἑρμῆς* the *Mercury*. Thus in the ships in a storm, they used to cast lots who should be thrown overbord for a *χάσμα*. Thus *Ænathius* saies, the lot fell to *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were resorted unto for Oracles, there were *ἑλάνες*: Lots and a table of purpose to throw for it; after the receiving of the answer; for *ἔαν βάλλῃς τις μετὰ τὴν ἀράβην ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ ὅ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται* (saies the *χ* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast, the prophecy will be fulfilled. If I do not, it will not. Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the crosse wyes they had their *sortes viales* (*αιροδῖος οὐμβέλλος* *Æschylus* calls them, and *ἀνδροει* is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried so many cuts about him, with severall inscriptions: and the next day he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the best, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg. 1.*

*Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi  
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.*

Artem.

*Artemidorus* in his *Proœmium* speaks of  $\text{ἡ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντιων}$ , Diviners in the *Market*. The original of this divination *Plutarch* in his book de *Isida & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea. *Isis*, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play; and asking of them, they shewed him the place. ἐν τῷ τῷ παιδία μαρτυρῶν ἔχειν δύναμιν ὁμοῦ αἰγυπῆος καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τότε. Κληθεὶς παζόντων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ φεγγουμένῳ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ. Besides these waies already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called *πιχειρομαντείαν*, or *ἐραφιδομαντείαν*. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericae* we read of. And *Virgiliana*: which they say *Severus Alexander* made use of, when he met with this verse of *Virgil*.

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

Nay the Christians themselves have not thicke to practise the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor*. Ἀποίξιν ἔκειρε δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀπόβλημα ἡ δίκαιον ἀπειλῶν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέφοντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παρεχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Austin*. l. 4. Confess. cap. 3. Makes mention of these lotteries. *Sic enim de Paganis poeta cujuspiam longe aliud cœmentis atque intenditis, cum sortem quis consulit, mirabiliter consonus negotio sæpè versus evincit.* And this way they say that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may suffice of *καὶ ἐστὶν sortes*, for by *καὶ ἐστὶν* in the singular number, is many times meant the *χ. In Enrip.* hint, or occasion given to Diviners to speak what they did. καὶ *Hippol.* σημείον τὸ διδόνον τοῖς μαρτυρομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ οἱ μάντιος ὁρμώμενος ἀποφύκει καὶ τῇ καὶ μαλόντων.

a Eurip Iphig.  
in A. v. 757.  
b In Androm.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or *μάντις*, as they did but little better then *fain* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet a saies of *Cassandra* b *χλασθρόμω πεφύγα δάφνας κοσμηθεῖσαν*. For why? — *venturi præsicia laurus*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and soveraign vertue, both to set a man a *Prophesying* (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it *θεσπιον δάφνον*) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in Lustrations, insomuch that they would commonly have the slaves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytareum* like publick persons. *χρησμολόγοι μετέειπον ἑν πυρτυρίῳ δεικνύσας*, saies the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*. There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the *μυσάδης ἑίδός πρὸς φεαγία μάντιων*, saies *Hesych*. Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Beotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Caphna* in *Arcadia* of *Locris* some say) otherwise called *Kidas*, and *Ἀλῆτης*. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) saies there were three Women Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythraa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the Spirit of c *Python*; and brought her Master most gain by Southsaying.

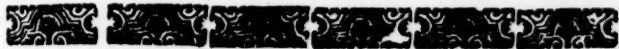
c *As c. 16. v.*  
16.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no means break, viz. First the importunity of my



my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors: and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no better, are as many. viz. First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my Tirocinium (when I took more delight in these studies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly. Want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyl be not all lost, I have as much as I desired myself, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.





Μίσων οὗτος ἰστοῖτο δ' ἔκριντο, Ἐρεφιάτης  
Μητίρης εἶχ' ἰδὼν, Πατήρ δ' ὄχι. Σᾶμα ῥᾶ μ' αἶμα  
Ἄλλοτο ἔδωκε ψυχῇ, εἴπερ ψυχὴ ἀνετελέχεια.

Ἦσδ', Πάπρον, Πλήρωμα, τό σπ' ἰν πύρωμα, πῆτευζα.  
Εὖ γε, τὰ δ' ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' αἶε ἰ  
Μᾶλλον ἀποσπείδισον Σικανικῇ καρυμμένα πέτρα.

Ἐκδόσει ἐνὶ νείᾳ τί ρεον; τί φ' οἱ, ἔρωτοί, ἔρωτες,  
Θρέπεις, λελχί, ἱκίται, Μαρτοσύνη, Πόλεμ' οἱ.

R. WARRE.

é C. C. C.



FINIS



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